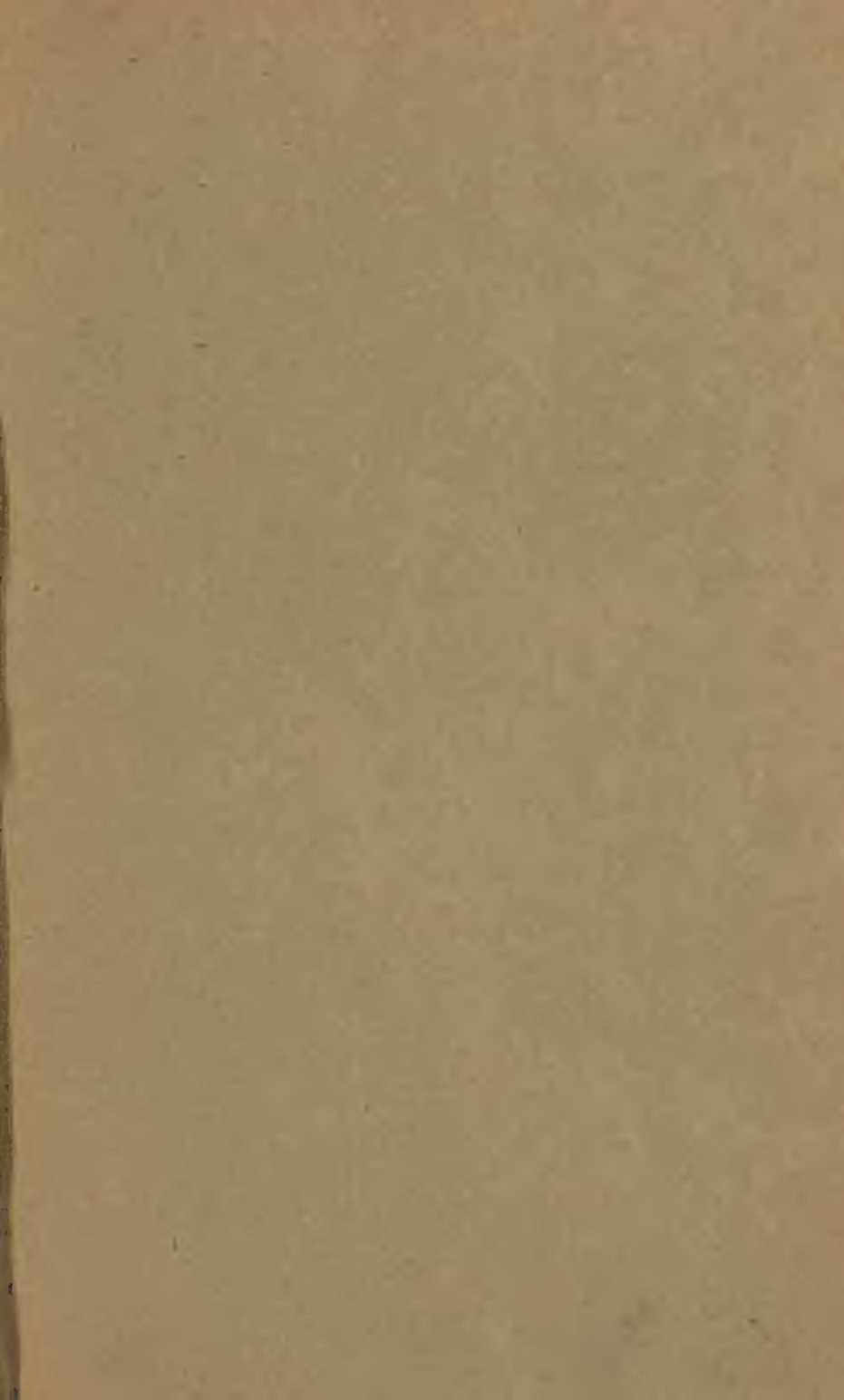


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MADURAI

through the ages

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1801 A.D.

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By

Dr. (Miss) D. DEVAKUNJARI, M.A., M.Ed., Ph.D.

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PREFACE

The present work, "Madurai Through the Ages" by the late Dr. D. Devakunjari was her doctoral thesis submitted to the Madras University. She was an eminent scholar who served as special officer in the Archaeological Survey of India before death snatched her away. In preparing her thesis, Dr. Devakunjari did extensive field work in the Madurai temple. Her erudition and hard work are evident in every page of her treatise.

This is the first time that a comprehensive treatise, not only on the political history of Madurai, but also on the great temple of Madurai is being published. The temple's architectural greatness, sculptural splendour and important role it played through the centuries are vividly brought out. Since this thesis was submitted in 1957 only a few finds that are really significant have been reported and few reinterpretations have been attempted by scholars. But the text is as presented by the author. The changes required are very few and moreover, we will not be doing justice to the author who is no more with us if the text is revised.

This excellent thesis on one of the greatest cities of Tamilnadu remained unpublished all these years. The society is thankful to Mrs. Venkatakrishnan, the sister of Dr. Devakunjari for not only permitting it to publish it in its publication series, but also for giving a substantial grant towards its publication. The society places on record its grateful thanks to Mr. Swaminathan (retired Assistant Librarian, Connemara Public Library). But for his keen interest and encouragement, the thesis would not have seen the light of day. Her sister Miss. Sarada took over 1500 Photograph of Madurai and its temple. All the illustrations included in this work are from her photographic collection.

The Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research (SAHER) is a registered society devoted to the study of the art, history, epigraphy and sociology of southern region. It has many branches throughout Tamilnadu.

Recently the Dharmapuri unit of the SAHER established a district archaeological museum at Dharmapuri. This is the first of its kind to be established in the State by the efforts of the society with mostly teachers of the district as members. The establishment of the Dharmapuri Museum will remain a standing witness to the role played by the society in this region, in popularising archaeology among the people.

The society has already established a name for its academic activity through its publications. It has brought out two volumes of "South Indian Studies" in English. The latest of its books is "Natya Brahman" (a work on the ancient Indian theatre), a thesis submitted to the University of New Orleans (U.S.A.) by Anita Ratnam Rangaraj.

The Society has been associating itself with the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology in organising district level seminars on archaeology. It has already published the papers presented at the Chingleput district and the State level seminars. It has also published two books on the historical site of Kudavasal and on the Pallava magnate, Karunakara Tondaiman.

I congratulate Dr. R. Nagaswamy for his inspiring guidance to the SAHER, and its young and energetic Secretary Mrs. Chitra Viji for her active interest in its publications. I also thank Mr. S. Srinivasa Raghavan, who undertook the onerous task of going through the proofs and meticulously verifying the footnotes etc. Mr. Natana. Kasinathan, the Registering officer of the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, who has been a great source of help in seeing the book through the press, also deserves our thanks.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Madurai, well known as a pilgrim centre today, is one of the oldest cities in South India. For the last two thousand years it has been a great centre of South Indian culture and civilization. In India the history and culture of a region often centres round a temple. This is particularly true of South India where the temple has made a unique contribution not only to the religious life of the people but has also served as the nucleus round which the social and cultural life of the people revolve. Though many cities could boast of ancient origins, not all of them could claim a continuous history. The great cities of Kāñci, Tiruchirappalli, for instance, are unquestionably ancient centres like Madurai. But they have not had an unbroken history and they were pre-eminent only during comparatively short periods. Kāñci was a capital city of the Pallavas and of some of the early Cōlas but faded off as a political capital later. The Cōlas had capitals at various places. The most ancient of them, Uṛaiyūr, is now only a suburb. Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram, another Cōla capital, had only a very brief life history. Tanjore had a comparatively long history but its origin does not date back earlier than the 8th-9th c. A.D.

Madurai, however, is one of the few cities to have enjoyed a continuous history which could be traced back to prehistoric times. The *sthalapurāṇas* speak of its hoary antiquity of when, it is said, Pārvati and Śiva ruled over Madurai and the Pāṇḍya territory. Whether as a temple city or as a capital city, the history of Madurai is distinct from that of other cities. Politically Madurai was the capital of a single dynasty, the Pāṇḍyas, who ruled continuously as far as is known from the early years of Christianity down to the 14th century. This fact alone more than anything else is enough to gain for Madurai a unique place. Even after the Pāṇḍyas Madurai has continued as the capital of some dynasty or other for four centuries more. It has therefore had a continuous history as a political capital for eighteen centuries. At the present day Madurai is still one of the premier cities in the State next only to Madras in importance.

The history of the Madurai city as a religious centre goes back to remote times since when the temple, one of the oldest institutions, has had a coeval history with those of the rulers and remains as important as ever even after the rulers have disappeared. The Madurai temple is not only of hoary antiquity but possesses an entire *purāṇa* of its own relating to the *līlās* of Sundarēśvara, the deity of Madurai. This *purāṇa* known as *Hālārya Mahātmya* or *Tirumalai-pāṇi*, in Tamil narrates the 64 *līlās* performed by the God. All the *līlās* are centred round the Madurai temple or its neighbourhood. According to the legend Śiva as Sundarēśvara is said to have married the Goddess Mīnākṣī, the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king and to have ruled over the kingdom Himself. This divine sovereignty is peculiar to Madurai. The Madurai temple has exercised great influence over South Indian life and culture from the earliest times.

The cultural prominence of Madurai in ancient times has earned for the city the epithet "The Athens of South India". It has been a great centre of learning from very early times. As the seat of the Tamil academy called the *Śāṅgam* it wielded great influence in the literary and cultural fields. Madurai has been in a sense an international metropolis with overseas commercial and cultural contacts with distant countries of the ancient world both in the east and the west.

Previous writers on the history of the Madurai country have confined themselves to certain periods of its political history. Among the general histories of Madurai and the Pāṇḍya country may be mentioned Nelson's *Madura Country* and Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*. The Madura and Tinnevely Gazetteers also give useful general historical sketches. The accounts of Nelson and Caldwell, though still useful and valuable, are out of date since they were written in 1868 and 1881 when sufficient material for the early and mediaeval history of Madurai was not available. These works need a great deal of revision in view of relevant fresh material, epigraphical, archaeological and literary, which have now become available. Nelson's work is a very full and detailed account and may be termed a classic among historical works. His book covers the wider field of the Madurai country in general and is not a history of the city.

Other available works deal only with one period or aspect of the history of Madurai. Apart from such works as V. Kanaka-

sabhai Pillai's *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* and P T Srinivasa Iyengar's *History of the Tamils* which incidentally deal with Madurai in the Śaṅgarn Age, there is yet no work treating directly of the cultural contributions of Madurai of the Śaṅgarn epoch.

The post Śaṅgarn period and the Kālabhira interregnum in Madurai have not yet been fully studied. The *Pandyan Kingdom* by K A. Nilakanta Sastri gives the history of the early and medieval Pāṇḍyas. *The Colas* by the same author contains many useful references to Pāṇḍya history. S. Mahiswami's thesis on the *Later Pandyas* has not yet been published. Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* and Dr N. Venkataramanayya's book on *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India* speak also about the Muslim rule in Madurai in the 14th century. Dr T V Mahalingam's paper on *The Bonas in South Indian History* treats about the rule of the Bānādarāyas in the Madurai country. The rule of the Vyavanagara viceroys in Madurai still remains a dark chapter.

V. Rangachari in the columns of *The Indian Antiquary* and R. Sathianatha Avar in the *History of the Nayaks of Madurai* have attempted to give a detailed and connected history of the Nāvakas of Madurai. A large amount of original material in the shape of records is available on the history of Madurai in the post-Nāvaka period. But not much work has been done in this field. S C Hill's *Jusuf Khan* deals only with a limited phase of this period.

All the available works on the history of Madurai have concentrated more or less on the history of one dynasty or another or to some particular periods. There are still gaps in the history of Madurai which have not yet been touched upon by writers. The history of the city itself has not received adequate attention. A connected history of the great temple city dealing with various aspects of its life and culture such as political, religious, social and economic, is a hard-felt need.

The great temple at Madurai which is one of the oldest in India has suffered much owing to the vicissitudes of fortune. The temple

fabric has been destroyed much through age and more through vandalism. It has been renovated from time to time. Many parts of the temple are therefore of a comparatively late period. Fortunately several vestiges of the early structures still remain here and there. The history of this great temple has not been studied systematically so far. This from every point of view Madurai deserves adequate and detailed study.

The present thesis is an attempt to compile a continuous and systematic account of the city and its temple which have not so far received the attention they deserve. This essay covers the subject in many of the aspects above mentioned. While political history of a general nature has been treated, an especial emphasis has been made about the city as a great centre of culture and art during its long history. Its history has been traced from prehistoric times and beginnings of recorded history. The political history and social history of the great Sangam Age and the contribution of the many poets hailing from the city are considered next. The cultural and social history of the First Pandyan Empire has been dealt with particular reference to Madurai city and its environs. A feature of the architecture of the period is the large number of rock-cut caves and many of the caves of Tirupparankulam have been dealt with in detail. The building activities of the intercaste, Pandyas are not so well known and many examples of their buildings have been noticed. The influence of the *maffas* during the medieval period is outlined. The connection between Madurai city and Mâjakkulam is traced (20). The political and social history of the city under the Nâyakas of Madurai is dealt with.

The Madurai temple has been studied in a fairly detailed manner, fully illustrated with photographs and many facts of its history, architecture, iconography and administration are detailed. An attempt has been made to trace some of the earlier features and date many of the temple structures on the basis of their architectural features and available literary evidence. Some of the temples in the neighbourhood of Madurai city have been summarily sketched. The city, its old forts and its palaces are covered. An attempt has been made to trace the lay-out of Tirumala Nâyaka's palace.

Though various types of source materials are available for study of the history of Madurai, yet when they are critically evalu-

The value of literary sources for the history of Madurai during certain periods such as the early Śaṅgam and post-Śaṅgam ages and the modern post-Nāyaka period cannot be over-estimated. Regarding the Śaṅgam period, as far as possible, only references in the works of the poets hailing from Madurai and the Pāṇḍya country or those who have sung of Madurai or its rulers have been made use of in this thesis.

For the later history of Madurai from about the 17th c. when epigraphic evidence dwindles literary sources in the shape of a large number of vernacular chronicles and memoirs are available. These his orical works are of particular interest since the lack of the literary works, especially in South India, is mainly religious in character. Most of these chronicles were collected by Col. Mackenzie and from what is known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. Abstracts of many of the manuscripts are given in Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts*, by Wilson in his catalogue of the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and in the descriptive catalogues of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Some of them were summarised by William Taylor in 1835 in two volumes called *Oriental Manuscripts*. Mackenzie's collection included a large number of inscriptions also. These have recently been published in the three volumes of the *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*. Apart from these two publications the bulk of the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* have not yet been published.

The chronicles and memoirs included in the Mackenzie collection are of varying historical value. The *Pāṇḍya Chronicle* and the *Myṭṭakāya Manuscripts* contain fairly reliable accounts and their chronology may also be depended upon. *The History of the Carnataca Governors* gives useful information but its chronology is not reliable. The *Tanjāvūr Andhra Rājula Caritra* and the *Tanjāvūr Caritra* though dealing with the history of Tanjore, throw some light on Madurai history also. The accounts of Tirumala Nāyaka, his palace and his numerous benefactions given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* are useful, though the translation is faulty. A large number of the manuscripts purport to deal with the genealogy and chronology of the Pāṇḍvas, for instance the *Pāṇḍya Rājākkaṭ Purāṇa Caritram*, *Madurai Pāṇḍya Rājākkaṭ Caritram*, *Pāṇḍya Prathāpa*

Vamśāvalī and others, contain much legendary matter, need a great amount of sifting and are not very dependable. A number of manuscripts contain accounts of the origin and history of the poorgars of various regions. These contain interesting and useful information, though one has to exercise care in separating fact from fiction.

Various Sanskrit and Telugu works of the Vijayanagara period, while primarily concerned with Vijayanagara history, help to elucidate the history of Madurai. The *Madhurā Vijayam*, the *Jummi Bhāratam*, the *Acyutarāyābhīyudayam* and others belong to this class. Besides the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* there are other works and manuscripts which are very useful for the later history of Madurai. The *Ramappayam Anmānam* and the *Khān Sāyabū Saṅgāi* give many details of Trumala's military campaigns and the war against Yusuf Khan respectively. Most of these literary works are helpful mainly with regard to political history.

Manuscript records of reports and accounts submitted by various officers to the government on the assumption of Madurai district by the British in 1801 A.D. which are in the Madras Record Office are of great use as authoritative material for the affairs of the period. The *Śrīśīla* manuscript appears to be a sort of log book of the Madurai temple. It seems to have been maintained carefully and recompiled and brought up-to-date from time to time. It contains many details about the Madurai temple servants and the administration of the temple during the Nāyaka and post-Nāyaka periods. Incidentally it gives many references to the history of the temple under different rulers and of royal customs and ceremonies. The *Madurai-talaravālāru*, which has been published as a prose introduction to the *Madurai Tiruppaṇmōlai*¹ and the *Madurai Sthānīkar Varāḍāru*² appear to have been originally parts of the *Śrīśīla*. These are reliable accounts and their chronology often closely approximates to the dates found in inscriptions of the period. The brief *Tiruppaṇam Vindanam* in prose forms an introduction to the more elaborate *Tiruppaṇmōlai* in verse. Both together attempt a history of the various structures of the temple and the numerous benefactions made to the temple.

1, *Sentamil* publication No. 27.

2, *Sentamil* Vol. V, p. 141 B.

by the rulers and nobles as well as by the common folk. They provide a useful approximation and corroboration of the architectural dating of the temple structures.

[illegible]

The contemporaneous letters and reports of the Jesuit missionaries who worked in the Madagascari country have been collected in four volumes called *La Mission du Madagascari* by Fr. J. Béranger. They are useful not only regarding the political history of Madagascar in the 17th and 18th centuries but they contain much information about the economic, social and cultural life of the people. Translations of some passages of these writings are given in Appendix V of R. S. S. and in A. S. A. S. *History of the Nopahs of Madagascari*. A critical English translation of all the four volumes would prove very useful to the student of South Indian History. The contemporary Dutch records are of similar value and need no special recommendation.

Regarding foreign literary works, in the early history of Madras the most important are the writings of Megasthenes, Ptolemy and the work *Perplus of the Erythraean Sea* (the Chinese Chronicles *Mandshing* and *Dipsandis*, and some references to the works of Chinese writers like Hsue Tsang. The works of the classical writer of the West contain much information about Madras, of the Sangam age. Though the chronology of the Greco-Roman chronicles still offers some problems, they prove very useful for the story of the post-Sangam epoch, the Pāṇḍyan civil wars of the mediaeval period and

the relations between Madurai and Ceylon. For the mediaeval period the writings of Muslim historians like Wassaṭ and Ibn Battuta and the stories of travellers such as Marco Polo are very helpful.

As regards archaeological evidence hardly any spade-work has yet been done in the Madurai country. The numerous excavations of Madurai sites such as Aṇṇappārāṇ and Māṇṇakkadam seem to furnish no prehistoric antiquities and may prove a useful ground for research.

Regarding numismatics the gold coins of the various dynasties which have ruled Madurai are available in fair numbers. Some copper and lead coins, specimens to be sure, Panjāb are known. Many of the coins available are not easy of identification. Roman coins and even of the Medo-Persians are very helpful for the dating of their respective periods.

Lastly there are many modern writings, both books and periodicals, which are useful for writing a political and cultural history of Madurai. Of special interest and importance among these are the archaeological and epigraphical reports, both Indian and foreign. The volumes of *Indian Antiquary*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *South Indian Inscriptions* and *Ancient India* contain a wealth of material.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORY OF THE MADURAI COUNTRY

A. GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The modern city of Madurai is about 345 miles to the south of Madras, and geographically is located on lat. 9.38 N and long 78.10 E. The Madurai district of which it is the capital, is bounded by the Coimbatore and Tanjavur districts on the north, by Tanjavur and Ramnad districts on the east, by the Ramnad district on the south, and by Travancore-Cochin State on the west. The present district is only a very limited portion of the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom which comprised the modern districts of Madurai, Ramnad and Tinnevely. The ancient boundaries of the kingdom were the river Vembar on the north, the Bay of Bengal and Straits of Madurai on the east, Cape Comorin and the Indian Ocean on the south and the Western Ghats on the west¹.

The present district comprises the eight taluks of Dindigul, Kodakandol, Madurai, Melur, Nilakkottai, Palai, Perivakulam, and Tirumangalam. Besides Madurai city the chief towns in the district are the seven taluk headquarters after which the taluks are named and Bodmayakkanur and Utamapalayam in Perivakulam taluk.

There are five well-marked natural divisions in the district, viz. the Palai hills; the level expanse of Tirumangalam taluk with black-cotton soil and a few granite hills; the flat tracts of rice-growing areas covering much of Madurai and Nilakkottai taluks and the southern half of Melur; the higher and drier tracts of northern Melur, Dindigul and Palai and lastly the long and fertile Kambam Valley region.

The mountain ranges of Madurai which are mostly outliers of the Western Ghats include the broad mass of the Palai hills on

¹ A Tamil poem by an anonymous author states, "The Pāṇḍyan Territory is south of the river Veijār, east of the town of Pēṇūr, north of Cape Comorin, and west of the Eastern Sea."

the west, the Varushanad and Andapatti ranges to the south, the Nagamalai range, the Sirumalais to the north-west; and the Alagar-malais, Karandamalais and the "Nartam hills" towards the north and east. These ranges and hills make Madurai a very picturesque country. Some of these like the Sirumalais have been spoken for their fertility even in ancient Tamil works, some like Alagar-malai are famous for their shrines and some like Kondrangimalai, "the handsomest peak of its kind in all Madura"¹ are renowned for their striking appearance. Many of the hills like Anaimalai and Palni-malai have figured in legends².

Some of the chief rivers of the district are the Gundar flowing through Tirumangalam taluk and town, the Tirumammar and the Palai flowing through northern Melur taluk and the Kodavanar and Shanmuganadi flowing northwards along the plains of Dindigul and Palni. The main river system of the district is the Vaigai and its tributaries. The latter rise in the Palni hills or the Varushanad and Andapatti ranges and join the Vaigai in the valley which lies between these two. The Vaigai flows south-eastwards past Madurai town, and enters the Ramanad district where it joins the Bay of Bengal not far from the town of Ramanad³. The soil of Madurai is mostly of the red ferruginous variety, the black varieties being uncommon and occurring to a considerable extent only in Tirumangalam taluk.

Excepting for the months of November, December and January the temperature is fairly high at Madurai throughout the year. During the summer it is very hot. The rainfall is received chiefly during the North-East Monsoon and averages about 30 to 35 inches annually.

Almost the whole of the Madurai district is covered with gneissic rocks. Minerals are rare. A broad band of white crystalline limestone stretching nearly two miles, occurs at Tirumalai village

1. W. Francis, *Madurai District Gazetteer* p. 9.

2. Parāṇḍi's *Tirumayidāi*, Nos. 22 and 45.

3. Details of the Kintamā river are given in the Appendix No. 3 to this chapter.

Pani hills and their environs many vestiges of settlements of the early iron age people have been found. Stone kistvaens and cists are widely found distributed in the Madurai district. They have been reported from many places such as Kalvarpatti and Virāḷipatti in Dindigul taluk, Karungālakkuṭi in Melur taluk and Pani and Kūyayamarūr in Palani taluk. Pyriform earthen tombs have been found near Kulasekharankōṭṭa in Nilakottai taluk, Paavai, Tāvaramān, Dastampatti, and Anuppānadi in Madurai taluk, and Sengam in Thumangam taluk.

South India abounds in what are known as megalithic monuments. While there is a general similarity among these it is possible to distinguish various types among them in different regions such as Chingleput, Pudukkottai, Cochin. These differences are mainly due to the influence of weather and geological factors which affect not only the structural form but also the situation of the megaliths¹.

Megaliths of the Chingleput district are cairns or columns of stones or rows of pile cairns. These are enclosures of barrows and circles or surrounding circular enclosures to be exposed. The cairns are usually large in size and pyramidal in shape.

The megalithic monuments of the Pudukkottai region consist of raised platform, dolmen, cists with rectangular enclosure, a circle with surrounding circles, enclosing single or multiple enclosures. The sepulchral character is unknown here².

Urn-burials are a class of monuments by themselves. While the form of urn burials, Backara-ruv Ware and the pottery burials found in that ware in Coimbatore and Nilgiris are of the same affinity, urn-burials cannot be included among the megaliths. A comparative study of the pottery from the prehistoric sites of Ajchanadūr and the megalithic pottery from Pudukkottai and Chingleput shows a comparative primitiveness of the former³.

1. K. R. Srinivasan and V. R. Banerjee, *Survey of South Indian Megaliths*, *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 109.

2. *Ibid*, p. 106.

3. *Ibid*, p. 111.

The prehistoric remains and monuments so far unearthed in Madurai and its environs consist mainly of burial urns and urn-burial sites. This type of burial seems to have been in vogue for a long time, from about the 3rd c. B.C. to about the 5th c. A.D.¹ The urn-burials are variously called *tāṭi* or *mudumakkaṭ-tāṭi* or *imānōṭi* in Tamil works dating from the Saṅgam period to the 12th c. A.D.

Burial-urn sites have been found in several places near Madurai. The village of Anappānaṭi is about two miles to the south east of Madurai city. About 20 years ago pyre-fired earthenware jars were unearthed in the village by K. S. Srikantan.² The jars were found buried rather shallow and fairly close to one another. The collection consisted of two large jars each 3 feet high and 2 feet 4 inches in diameter at the mouth, smaller vessels, bowls and ring stands of the thin black glazed ware type known so extensively in the Madras State.

As early as 1887 Alexander Rea of the Archaeological Department had unearthed many earthenware sarcophagi in Anappānaṭi,³ as well as in other places around Madurai such as Dā lampatt⁴, Paravai⁵ and Teyaramān⁶. He reports that at Anappānaṭi the tombs appeared above the ground singly and in groups and that they largely varied in size, from a child's tomb measuring 1 foot 2½ inches in diameter by 1 foot 7 inches deep to a large one measuring 3½ feet in diameter. These were reported to be of a coarse, red earthenware material of a very different clay from the finely grained light material of the enclosed smaller articles. Some few tombs, however, always small, which were noticed most particularly at this place, were made of the thin black and red glazed earthenware of the small vessels about 3/16 inch thick. This type of tomb was comparatively limited in number and "were evidently used", says Rea, "by a superior class".

1. *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 15-16.

2. A.S.I. 1930-37, pp. 61-62 and plates XXV and XXVI.

3. G.O. 1663 Pub. 16-12-1887 Alexander Rea. *Some pre-historic burial places in Southern India*, J.A.S.B., Vol. LVII Pt. I 1888, pp. 48 ff.

4. About 1½ miles northwest of Madurai.

5. Five miles northwest of Madurai, near the Vaigai.

6. About six miles northwest of Madurai.

A tomb of the more ordinary variety of earthenware which was complete with its cover, though cracked, was found buried deep in the ground and quite at a distance from the others. Inside this were the remains of a skull and the bones of a skeleton which were large-sized and evidently those of a person over the ordinary height. In other tombs also were found remains of bones and also vessels of different shapes and colours. The predominant colours of these prehistoric pottery appear to be black and red. Some of them were ornamented with dots in diagonal lines which are stated by Mr. Rea to be peculiar. One peculiarity noted by Mr. Rea was the surface glaze on these articles which had the appearance of polish on wood work or horn. The Black-and-red Ware, as it is called, is a distinctive type among the pottery found in association with megalithic monuments. This ware is common to megaliths all over the south and on the basis of the date of megalithic monuments at Brahmagiri and other evidences can be placed between the third-second century B.C. and the first century A.D.¹

At Paravai and Tovaramān were found pyriform earthenware tombs with remains of skulls and bones and also an iron spearhead and a large number of glazed pottery similar to the finds at Anuppanādi.

In 1887 Mr. Bartels, the Divisional Inspector of Police, discovered at Tovaramān² a large number of earthenware jars and many small earthen vessels also, all glazed inside and outside and some containing remains of bones and a skull. In one jar he also found a stone shaped like a dart.

Inside one of the tombs at Paravai were found a large number of beads. Mr. Rea says that these beads "are of a reddish semi-transparent material with milky streaks through them. A few are of a greenish hue, and others of white crystal. Most of them have a design in white inlaid work, the lines seem to have been grayed on the surface, and the white enamel filled in".³ An etched carnelian bead from Sirkap, Taxila, of oblique strokes, enclosed within two mar-

1. *Ancient India*, No. 9, pp. 109-110.

2. G.O. 1019 Pub. 1887.

3. Rea, *op.cit.*

ginal haec, has been ascribed to the first century A.D.¹ A similar design has been found on a bead from a pyriform tomb at Paravai. This evidence may help one to assign for the time being the date of the pre-historic site at Paravai to the first century A.D. till further evidence becomes available.

On the strength of the discovery of prehistoric sepulchral urns at places like Kil-pulivūr, Kilā ubūr and Kil Nattam in Tinnevely district a suggestion has been made by C. R. Krishnamachari² that prehistoric remains may be looked for at places with the prefix 'Ail' which means 'lower' or 'eastern' in Tamil. He has given a list of places with such names where prehistoric remains have been found. This statement may probably be held to be true in the case of prehistoric finds at Anuppanādi also since the village is very near to what is known as Kila-Madurai. In ancient times villages and towns seem to have been divided into two halves called *kil-mā* and to indicate probably the upper and lower halves or the western and eastern halves, e.g. Mēla-Mātur and Kila-Mātur, Me panangādi and Kilpanangādi, Mēlkuvil-kuḍi and Kikavilkuḍi, Mēl Iravamūt-tam and Kil Iravamūt-tam. Perhaps the western or upper half was used for human habitation and in the lower half were the burial sites.

The prehistoric finds at Anuppanādi, so near to Kila-Madurai, would show that the area Kila-Madurai and the present Madurai town were once the same, which would thus be Mel-Madurai and been a continuous occupation by people from prehistoric times.

C. EARLY LITHIC MONUMENTS OF THE MADURAI COUNTRY

The Madurai country abounds in polished tools, so highly polished, with big bifaces and small caxes, also at many other things and points. Prehistoric man as well as user of the *andaka* and *anadaka* seeds appear to have made use of these natural

1 B.K. Thaper, *Portolan* 1943, *Excavation of a Megalithic Urn-Burial* Ancient India, No. 8, p. 14.

2 C.R. Krishnamachari, *Some Pre-historic sites in the Ramanad And Tinnevely Districts*, A.S.I. 1936-37, p. 72.

caverns evidently for habitation or for religious purposes. The people who resorted to these off-the-way places seem to have made slight alterations to the natural caves to suit their purposes. For instance, rectangular beds, often with pillow-lofts, were cut out in the rock surface; arrow or pikes were made on the overhanging rock to carry off the water from the roof and holes were cut in the rock face probably to put up a wooden structure or shelter. These caverns are popularly known as "Pāñci Pāṇḍava Paṇḍukkar" whatever the nature of these beds may be. K. R. Srinivasan¹, while explaining the Pāñci caves connected with South Indian megalithic sites, opines that the term *Pāṇḍava kula* may be a corruption of the word *maṇḍana*, i.e., those lead or *pāṇḍava*, i.e., those who performed useless dances, as according to the belief in later times, it was considered that Ajivikas or Jinas did penance that was "useless". Perhaps the term "Pāñci Pāṇḍava paṇḍukkar" may have had a similar origin. When the original meaning was forgotten and the name came to be associated with the five Pāṇḍavas the prefix *pañci* might have been added to the original term *Pāṇḍava paṇḍukkar*.

Short Brahmi inscriptions are found in many of these caverns either in the beds themselves or on the overhanging rock. These inscriptions have not yet been fully studied and interpreted. Similar caves with Pāñci inscriptions in Brahmi script have been found in Ceylon also (for instance, at Vesagiri).² But the Buddhist remains found in connection with the caves in Ceylon are absent in the South Indian caverns.

In Madurai district caverns with Brahmi inscriptions have been known in more than a dozen places.³ In South India the majority

¹ K. R. Srinivasan, *The Megalithic Burials and Urn-fields of South India, Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 19.

² *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 10.

³ M. E. R. 115 of 1901, Mēṇṇi, 457 of 1906, Anaimalai 460-465 of 1906, Maheśvaran 466 of 1908, Vāñḍavayṇṇi 45 of 1908, Mēṇṇipatti, 333 of 1908, Iṇḍuparavayṇṇi 334 of 1908, 337-33 of 1910, Aṇḍaravayṇṇi, 55-57 of 1910, Kōṇḍar Pulavayṇṇi 58-60 of 1910, 865-869 of 1917, Mēṇṇipatti 461 of 1911, Kōṇḍaravayṇṇi 461-463 of 1911, Nāṇḍamalai Hill. A description of these caverns is given in M. E. R. 1901, Pt. II, paras. 1-4, 1908, Pt. II, paras. 1-3, 1909, Pt. II, paras. 1 & 2, 1910, Pt. II, paras. 1-5, 1912, Pt. II, paras. 1 & 2, 1913, Pt. I, paras. 8 & 10, 1927, Pt. II, para 8.

of the caverns discovered so far are situated in the Madurai district. Of these, Tirupparankunram, Ānaimalai and Muttappaṭṭi, a hamlet of Vadaṭapaḷaiṇṇi, are within a radius of about five miles from Madurai.

The cavern at Ānaimalai¹ is an almost inaccessible natural cave not far from the top of the rock. It is roughly 22 feet long and 18 feet broad. The height at the entrance is about 3 feet, but gradually diminishes towards the interior. Inside the cavern are three double beds and one single bed at a slightly lower level and four other beds covered with earth. A set of eight beds is also found exposed outside the cavern. All the beds vary from about six to seven feet in length and one and a quarter to about two feet in breadth. One end of each bed is a raised portion, chiselled smooth and this probably was meant as a pillow lot. On the overhanging rock is a Brāhma inscription consisting of two lines.

At Tirupparankunram² there are two caverns. They are on the western slope of the hill on the steep side and are reached only by rude goatholes cut into the rock. Within one cavern there are six stone beds, two big ones and four smaller ones, roughly equal in size and separated only by very thin band of stone. The two bigger ones stretch from east to west and are mutilated on their pillow sides. In the cutting of the rock on the pillow side of the smaller beds is a clear-cut legible Brāhma inscription of one line extending to the full breadth of the beds. The cavern is a spacious one and could afford shelter to a large number of people. On the overhanging rock is installed a narrow drain to carry off rain water. There is a similar groove on the floor also at the broad entrance. Higher up on the hill about a hundred yards to the west of the Sikandar mosque is another small cavern with five narrow beds stretching from west to east. Modern mud and stone walls have been erected in this cavern by a Hindu mendicant who had been using this cavern.

The caverns with the old Brāhma inscriptions have a special significance since they are the earliest lithic monuments of the Tamil country. From available evidences the stone beds seem to be as

1. M.E.R. 1907, Pt. II, para 2.

2. M.E.R. 1909, Pt. II, para 3.

old as the Brāhmi inscriptions. The script resembles that of the inscription from Bhattiprola and palaeographically may be assigned to 3rd or 2nd century B.C.

In the Brāhmi inscriptions at Siddharmalai Hill near the village Mēttupattī and Aḷagarmalai one gets what are perhaps the earliest epigraphic references to the city of Madurai. One inscription from Siddharmalai is read by H. Krishna Sastri¹ as "Ma d... r a j a n a t a i (v i s : v a n a " K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer² reads it as "*Matira Antai*" meaning "This is the bed of one belonging to Madurai."

Of the inscriptions at Aḷagarmalai, inscription A is read by H. Krishna Sastri³ as "Ma (ta, ti (rai) yi po na ku la va na a (ta) na a t a na" and inscription B as "M(a) ta ti rai ko (pa) pu va n a ka na "

"The expression *Mātirai* occurs in both A and B, the former giving ...an extra consonant *y* after *rai* which is a feature of Tamil orthography", says H. Krishna Sastri.⁴ Regarding the Aḷagarmalai inscriptions K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer says that the word *Matirai* (Madurai) occurs several times in them and also the names of two persons who were *ponkulavai* and *kularan-kam*,⁵ i.e., "dealers in gold and grains".⁶

In these inscriptions there seems to be a clear reference to the city of Madurai though the words seem to be slightly different in form. Thus the word *Madhira* or *Matira* in the Siddharmalai inscription and the words *Matanirai* or *Mairai* occurring in the Aḷagarmalai inscriptions may be the earlier forms of the word "Madurai", the present name of the city. It may be noted that the Cōḷa,

1. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Caverns & Brāhmi Inscriptions of South India*. Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, pp. 34-43).

2. Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, p. 298.

3. H. Krishna Sastri, *op-cit.* p. 345.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 345-46.

5. Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, p. 299.

6. a. Ma (ta) ti (ra) yi po na ku la va na a (ta) na a t (a) na.

b. M(a) ta ti rai ko (pa) pu va n a ka na.

Parātrakṛti is often referred to as "Madhiraikonda Kōpparakēśari-varman" in his inscriptions.

The Brāhmi records also contain some topographical references to the Madurai country which in note the antiquity of this region. For instance, the Ānaimalai inscription refers to the gift by a person residing at *kāṇṇal*. This is perhaps a reference to the place Kāṇṇaiūr which is very near Ānaimalai and where there is also an early Pāṇḍya cave temple. A resident of Pākanūr is mentioned in a record from Kongarpuṇyankūṇam. This indicates the antiquity of the Paganūr-kūṇṇam which was situated to the west of Madurai. The Velvickal village was in this division. This region seems to have been a stronghold of Brāhmins and noted only for Vedic sacrifices but also seems to have been favoured by Hindu ascetics¹.

These Brāhmi inscriptions have been interpreted variously by several scholars². While the language of the inscriptions in general appear to be Pālī in the Brāhmi script many letters and forms are peculiar and different and make the interpretation difficult. Both Kṛṣṇa Sastri and K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer think that there were some Tamil words and forms occurring in these records. The latter says that these are probably early Tamil records. Other scholars like Dr. C. Narayana Rao³ feel that these records are Prakṛit and not early or early represent what is called in Pāṣāṇī form (Prakṛit). According to Indian grammarians the old Pāṣāṇī dialect was the prevailing language in the Pāṇḍya country.

Epigraphs such as the *graffiti* were found in the Aikamēḍa excavations 1915. Except two among them it is said that all the others may be reconstructed in Tamil at least among the earliest known examples of the language. They are, of course, very coarse and the Brāhmi script is found in the recent caverns of the Pāṇḍya

1. S. Jeyarman. The shrine of many Hindu ascetics, was in this division. A place *Indupāl* is now corrupted into *Imppāl* and meaning the Pālī or residence of Pālīs was also in this region.

2. H. Kṛṣṇa Sastri. Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, pp. 327-449; K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer. Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, pp. 2 ff. Dr. C. Narayana Rao. Proceedings of the Ninth Oriental Conference, pp. 863-873.

3. Proceedings of the Ninth Oriental Conference, pp. 863-73.

country in the also the Māmaṇḍūr inscription (3rd c. B.C.), and the Bhattiprolu Brāhmī inscriptions (c. 200 B.C.). Since the Arkamēḍu site has been assigned to about the first century A.D. the potsherds may also have to be assigned to the same date. Thus they belong to a slightly later period than the Brāhmī inscriptions of the natural caverns indicating hereby that here does not seem to have been much development in the South Indian script between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D.¹

Further research may probably help settle the question of the relationship between Prākṛit and Dravidian and the origin of the Dravidian languages.

D. EARLY REFERENCES TO MADURAI

From all available evidences Madurai appears to have been ruled by the Pāṇḍyas from time immemorial. The Pāṇḍyas and their capital Madurai are mentioned in many early Indian works and *purāṇas* thus pointing to the antiquity of Madurai and the Pāṇḍyan dynasty. The *śthalapurāṇas* state that when Agastya and many other *ṛṣi* had once gathered at Benares, Agastya was requested by his companions to narrate to them the *glory* of Śiva on the banks of the river Vegavati (Vaigai). In one chapter of the *purāṇa* Agastya eulogises the greatness and glory of the city of Madurai.² The *Tirumāyāḍai Purāṇa* states that the *Indra Vimāna* of the Mīnāks temple at Madurai was built under the orders of Indra. The *Kūḍal Purāṇa*, which is the *śthalapurāṇa* of the Kūḍal Alagar temple states that the *Aśoka Vimāna* of the Kūḍal Alagar temple at Madurai was built by Viśvakarma the divine carpenter. A divine origin is also attributed to the two ancient temples in the city.

The Madurai country and the Pāṇḍyas find mention in the epics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Kāvāṭapuram, one of the six capitals of the Pāṇḍyas is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

1. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam: Presidential Address of the Dravidian Languages and Culture Section, Proceedings of the seventeenth All India Oriental Conference, 1953, pp. 7-8.

2. Paraṇḍyōṭi's *Tirumāiyōḍai Madurai Tirunagarappaḍalam*, Nambī's *Tirumāiyōḍai Tirunagarappu*.

Surgrīva is said to have told his followers to search for Śīa in kingdoms south of the Vindhya and to look out for "Kavāṭam Pāṇḍvā-nām" or the Pāṇḍya's golden gates decked with pear and gold, on the shore of the ocean¹. This Kavāṭapuram, later known as Korakai, is said to have been submerged by the sea.

In giving a list of the kingdoms to the south of the Vindhya, the poet Vālmīki includes the kingdoms of the Āudhras, the Paṇḍras, the Cōlas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralās². In the *Mahābhārata* also there are many references to the Pāṇḍyas. A Pāṇḍya king is said to have been present at Drupadi's *saṁgamana*³. Sahadeva proceeded on a digvijaya to the south and vanquished the Drāvīdas, Cōlas, Keralās and Pāṇḍyas⁴. The Pāṇḍya king is said to have taken part in the great Bhārata battle⁵. The tradition that the Pāṇḍyas participated in the great war seems to have continued for a long time since one finds it being mentioned in a Pāṇḍya copper-plate grant of the 13th century A.D. viz. the Larger Śrīnagaratūr plates⁶. The *Mahābhārata* further says that Arjuna during a pilgrimage (*tīrthayātra*) married Citrāṅgada the only daughter of Citravāhana, ruler of Manipura⁷. This place is called Manalūr in the South Indian versions of the epic and is taken to refer to Manalūr, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas. In another place Citrāṅgada is spoken of as a Pāṇḍya princess⁸.

Kātyāvana, the grammarian of the 4th century B.C. who was probably a southerner, mentions the countries of the extreme south, Pāṇḍya, Cōla and Kēraḷa.

The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, while describing the trade between Northern and Southern India, speaks of the pearls and musk of

1. *Rāmāyaṇa, Kīrti Kāṇḍ*, 43, 19.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa, Kīrti Kāṇḍ*, 41; 42.

3. *Mahābhārata*, I, 189, 7020.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 34, 1988.

5. *Ibid.* v. 19, 576; vi. 50, 2084; vii. 23, 1019; viii. 21, 81.

6. "Bhārataatīr pagaḍattiyum". (I, 96).

7. *Mahābhārata*, vii. ii. 3985; vii. i. 215, 7826.

8. *Ibid.*, *Adi Par.* vi. 1, 64 (Kumbh. edn.)

the Pāṇḍya country. Among the articles that entered the royal treasury Kauṭīya includes varieties of pearls from the Tāmraparnī river in the Pāṇḍya country from "Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa" which is explained in the commentary as the Maṇḍyakūṭi mountain in the same area and from the Cūrṇa river in Kēraḷa.¹ He also mentions the cotton fabrics from Mādurai Madhuraṃ² as well as Paṇḍraka blankets, black and soft as the surface of a gem.³

The astronomer Varāhamihira refers to the Pāṇḍya kingdom (Pāṇḍyaśa) in his *Brhatṣamita*.⁴ Kālidāsa, the great Sanskrit poet and dramatist, refers to the Pāṇḍya kingdom as one of the provinces overrun by Raghu in his tour of conquest.⁵ The above accounts indicate clearly that the Pāṇḍyas, the kingdom and the commercial products of their country seem to have been well known outside their country and that there were wide contacts between the Pāṇḍya country and the outside world from very early times.

The *Mahāvaṃśa*, the Ceylonese chronicle contains the earliest mention made of the ancient city in a foreign literary work. The date of Baṇḍu's *avardha* has been generally accepted as 483 B.C. The *Mahāvaṃśa* states that Ceylon was colonised by her first king, Prince Vjaya, who came to the island from Bengal by sea, with many followers. It is stated that he landed on the north coast of the island on the day of Baṇḍu's *avardha*. Vjaya became king of the country after defeating and saving the rakṣas (rakṣa) people in Ceylon. He then sent ambassadors to the city of Madurāi in the Dakṣiṇa. They brought from Dāccina Madurāi, the daughter of the king Pāṇḍya and about 700 daughters of the different chief men of that place, with a train of men of 18 different classes and also five different classes of workmen. The king was afterwards married to the princess the daughter of the king Pāṇḍya and was crowned and reigned in tranquillity in the city Tammanah 38 years."⁶

1. Kauṭīya's *Arthaśāstra*, B. 11.

2. Ibid, B. 26, 119.

3. Ibid Tripathi's edn. p. 90. Syama Sastri, translator of the *Arthaśāstra*, says these blankets were of Pāṇḍya manufacture.

4. Dr Kern's Edition, iv. 10.

5. *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 49.

6. Nelson, *Madura Country*, p. 47.

This reference to Madurai in the Chinese chronicle bears testimony to the friendly relations and contacts between Ceylon and South India as well as Northern and Southern Iran. Incidentally it also shows that the Pandya had by now established themselves at Madurai which was designated Dakṣiṇa Mūrti, probably to distinguish it from its northern counterpart.

The Pāṇḍyas and their capital city Madurai were well known to the Ancient Greeks and Romans. The account of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Seleukos, at the court of Chandragupta Maurya (320 B.C.), is the first direct notice of a South Indian kingdom made by the classical writers of the West. He gives a quaint and elaborate account of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom which, according to him, was governed by women. He says, "Hērakles begot a daughter in India whom he called Pandura. To her he assigned the nation of India which lies to the southward and extends to the sea, where he gave and the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving them that one village should each day bring to the city as many of the royal tribute as there are women. This custom was probably based on some historical fact and perhaps referred to some mode of payment for women's work. For example, the *Sappadikāham* refers to an instance of a cowherd who says that it was her turn that day to supply ghee to the royal household at Madurai.¹

Strabo c. 25 B.C., states that a Pandya king sent an embassy to the Roman Emperor Augustus.² Ptolemy c. 75 A.D. mentions the Pandya king Pandion and his "Mediterranean capital of Madurai".³ Ptolemy (A.D. 130) mentions Madurai, the royal city of Pandion.⁴ He says that the country of the Pandionians was around the Bidaspes.⁵ It is not clear whether this is a reference to the river Vagṛa. Ptolemy shows great knowledge of the interior of the Tamil

1. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 158-159.

2. *Ibid.*, line 7.

3. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 9, para. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

5. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 183, para. 89.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 121, para. 46.

country and mentions a number of inland cities of the Pāṇḍya, namely, Tainōr, Perīṅkareṭi, Korinḍōr, Tangala or Taga and Akōr.¹ Tainōr is probably Tenūr in the Maṇḍarai taluk of the Madurai district which is frequently mentioned in Sangam works as a flourishing town. Perīṅkareṭi may be Perunkarai on the river Vaigai about 40 miles lower down its course than Madurai. Tangala and Akōr evidently refer to Taṅgāi and Okkūr in the Ramnad district which were also well-known places in the Saṅgam age and were the home of several Tamil poets.

The earliest datable records in which allusions to the Pāṇḍyas and the Maṇḍarai city are traceable are the Aśoka edicts and the old Brāhmi inscriptions² in the caverns in the Pāṇḍya country. The second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Aśoka mention the South Indian kingdoms and Ceylon.³ The list in the second edict is more complete and includes the names of Cūḷa, Pāṇḍya, Saṅgapura, Keraṅga-pura and Tāmbapanni (Ceylon). All these countries are correctly stated to have lain outside the empire of Aśoka. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela makes reference to the Pāṇḍya country and to the confederacy of Tamil states, *Tamiradāśaṅghātam*. Kharavela ruled at Kalinga in about the first half of the 2nd century B.C. The *Taga-gaṇa* records that he caused "many rare pearls in hundreds" to be brought from the Pāṇḍya to Kalinga and perhaps also ivory, elephants, jewels and rubies.⁴

1. Ibid., page 183, para 183.

2. Vide Section C of this chapter.

3. E.I., Vol. II, p. 447 ff.

4. Hathigumpha inscription, J.B.O.R.S. iv. 40.

APPENDIX I

DERIVATION OF THE TERM 'MADURAI'

Several explanations are given for the derivation of the term *Madurai*. The word is generally supposed to be the Tamil form of the name of Mathura (modern *Matra*), the holy city on the Jamna in Northern India. It is also said that the name *Madurai* is derived from the Tamil word *madhura* in asing sweetness. The *Madurai Sthalapurdya* state that when king Kul-sik-ra Pāṇḍya first built the city God sprinkled the whole town with drops of sweet nectar *amṛtam* shaken from his locks, to purify and bless the city. Hence the city came to be known as *Madurai*¹. Further, the city was called "the northern *Madurai*" to distinguish it from a previous capital of the same name, in the extreme south of the peninsula which is said to have been submerged by the sea. The name *Madurai* seems to have been a favourite one in early ages for we find several places so called in Ceylon and Malaya. There is a place named *Matura* in the extreme south of Ceylon, another in Borneo and at island called *Matura* near Java. The term *Madurai* seems to have had some special significance and meaning which made it very popular in ancient times but which has been forgotten at present.

In the Pāṇḍyan kingdom itself there seems to have been a number of cities with the name *Madurai*. Their origin is, however, not known. *Tenmadurai* a city in the southern part of the kingdom, is said to have been the original Pāṇḍyan capital. This city was swallowed up by the sea. Later another capital of the same name was founded in the north in the interior and this was called *Vadamadurai* to distinguish it from *Tenmadurai* which was lost in the sea. Perhaps this *Vadamadurai* was in its turn designated *Tenmadurai* to distinguish it from its counterpart in the distant north, on the banks of the Jamna. Besides there is a place called *Vadamadurai*, near Dindigul. There is a village called *Negumadurai* about 10 miles south-west of *Madurai* and near to this village are places called *Kūḍakkōvil* and *Periya Kūḍakkōvil*. The origin and significance of these places and place names, however, remain obscure. In many early Tamil works the city

1. Nambis *Tiruvaiyār* No. 36, Parakkōṭṭi's *Tiruvaiyār* No. 3.

of Madurai is known as *Kūḍal*¹. *Kūḍal* is a term which refers to the confluence of rivers. Many ancient cities were built at the site of river confluences which were considered ideal for building towns and capitals. Perhaps ancient Madurai was also built at the confluences of the Vaigai and one of the tributaries which may have changed its course during the lapse of centuries.

The city was also called "*Nānmaṅgaikkūḍal*" or "the cluster of four towers." The *Tirumaiyāḍālai Purāṇas* explain the term in the following way: "Once when Varuṇa tried to destroy the Pāṇḍya capital by means of a deluge of rain, God Sundarēśvara sent four clouds which joined together to form a canopy over Madurai and protected the city from destruction." Hence the city came to be known as *Nānmaṅgaikkūḍal* in Tamil and *Calugakūṭa* in Sanskrit. The earliest reference to the city of Madurai as "*Nānmaṅgaikkūḍai*" occurs in the *Kaṭṭitogai*.²

Madurai was known by other names which testify to the great sanctity of the *kūṭra*. Madurai was once covered with *kaṇḍamba* forests which were cleared by Kaṇḍēkharā Pāṇḍya³ before the city was built on well-planned lines. Hence the city was called *Kaṇḍamba-ṇaṅgaṅkūṭra*. The *Tirumaiyāḍālai Purāṇa* states that after a deluge, God Sundarēśvara sent a serpent to point out to the Pāṇḍya king the boundaries of the original city of Madurai as it had existed before the deluge. So the city came to be known as *Āṇvāy*⁴ or *Tirumāṇvāy* in Tamil and *Hāṭṭya* in Sanskrit. Goddess Mīnākā as the Pāṇḍya princess T.ṭātakai had ruled over Madurai when she was a maiden. So the city came to be known as *Kinnirapuram* or *Kannakāpuram*. The city is also known as *Sannaiṇṇāyānagarī*, *Sivanagarai*, *Deḍaḍantaṭṭaṭam*, *Jinnamukṭipuram* and *Bhūlākaṣaṭalākam*.

1. *Agam* 93, 149; *Puram* 347; *Kaṭṭitogai* 27, 30, 31, 57, 92, *Sivappudikāram* 30, 349 and others.

2. Nambī's *Tirumaiyāḍālai* No. 12, Paraṇḍiō's *Tirumaiyāḍālai* No. 19.

3. *Kaṭṭitogai*, 92, 65.

4. Nambī's *Tirumaiyāḍālai* No. 53, Paraṇḍiō's *Tirumaiyāḍālai* No. 3.

5. Nambī's *Tirumaiyāḍālai* No. 47, Paraṇḍiō's *Tirumaiyāḍālai* No. 49.

APPENDIX 2

THE TIRUVILAIYADAL LEGENDS

The great temple at Madurai is considered one of the holiest of Sivā temples. Śiva as God Śaṅkarēśvara is said to have performed 64 *līlas* here. These are narrated in various *sthālapurāṇas* pertaining to the Madurai temple. They have been written in various languages in different periods and vary from the most elaborate versions such as Parāñjōti's *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇa* to the *Tirumōḻai Nāṇmaḥ*, *māla*, which devotes just a line or two for each *līla*. Some of the most important among these are Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambī's *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam* whose Sanskrit original, *Saragamuṭṭam*, a section of *Uttaramahāpurāṇam*, is not available at present and *Hātāra Māhātmya* a Sanskrit work based on which Parāñjōti Manivar wrote the *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam*. Though Parāñjōti has closely followed the Sanskrit original, there are many differences between the two and his work is not a mere translation. For instance, his division of the work into three cantos - *Madurai*, *Kūḍal* and *Alaṇṭar kōṇḍams* is not found in the Sanskrit version. Nambī's work may be assigned to about the 12th-13th c. while Parāñjōti's was written in the 16th-17th cs.

Kolūḍam, a work of about the 9th c. A.D. is perhaps the earliest to attempt a collective narration of the *līlas*. It narrates about 30 *līlas* though it makes mention of a total of 64 *līlas*. In earlier works of the Saṅgam and Post-Saṅgam period and in the *Dēvānam* hymns there are many stray references to various *Tiruvilaiyādal* legends such as the maiden, little Pāṇḍya driving back the sea with his spear.

The works which narrate all the 64 *līlas* may be broadly divided into two classes according to the order in which the *līlas* are arranged. Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambī has arranged the *līlas* in a certain order while Parāñjōti Manivar has followed another order in his *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam*.

Works which follow Nambī's order are - The *Līlāsāṅgraha* chapter of *Āṇḍambavanapurāṇa* written by Vīrmanātha Paṇḍitar and based on the Saṅskṛta *Āṇḍambavanapurāṇam* or *Nīpāraṇyamāhātmya*. *Tiruvilaiyādal*

yāgarpayakaramālai and *Tiruvāṭṭāṭṭāṇṇamanimālai*. *Parāṇottaramalai*, *Nādar's Maduraiṇcokkanādar Uṭṭ* and *Nīlakanṭha Dikṣitar's* Sanskrit work *Sivalīlarnava*, follow *Parāṇjōti's* order of arrangement.

Other works in which the *Tiruvāṭṭāṭṭ* are narrated are *Andāri's Sundara Pāṇḍiyam* based on a Sanskrit work of the same name *Aṣṭamupradakṣina Mānmyam* (both in Sanskrit and Tamil) and *Maduravakalambakam* of K. Amrāgaruparar. There are many differences between Nambi's and *Parāṇjōti's* works. For instance several *ilās* in Nambi's work are omitted in the latter and one *ilā* of the former is split into three in the latter. While Nambi casually mentions only a few names of Pāṇḍya kings, *Parāṇjōti's* work and the *Hiḍḍiy-Māhātmya* mention a list of 72 Pāṇḍya kings which is of doubtful historical value. *Parāṇjōti* appears to have attempted some chronological arrangement of the *ilās* but it is not clear at present how far he has succeeded.

A large number of the *ilās* such as those connected with *Tirujānasambandar*, the Jains *Mānukkavācaka* and the *Curas* and the *Cōlas*, are legends gathered round actual historical events. But at present it is difficult to separate the fact from the fiction completely. Apart from these minor and perhaps major differences, there is much similarity and uniformity about the *ilās*.

CHAPTER III

MADURAI IN THE SANGAM AGE

A AGE AND HISTORICITY OF THE SANGAM

Madurai was famous as a seat of learning in very early times. Tradition says that the Pāṇḍya capitals were the home, at different times, of three different Tamil Saṅgams i.e., academies of learned men. The first of these was at the capital of Tenmadurai which was submerged in the sea, the second at Kavāṭaparam which was also swept under the sea and the third at the present town of Madurai called Vēḷḷamkurai, 600 miles distant from the Tenmadurai lost in the sea. There is a persistent tradition in the *Madurai Sthala-purāṇa* and Pāṇḍya legends that a Pāṇḍya capital was affected by sea-raiding. It is said that during one such deluge the whole city was destroyed except the temple and the surrounding pāṇs which were known as *Maṇḍūr*.¹ Again it is said that once when *Pala-madurai* (old Madurai) was about to be destroyed by the sea the Pāṇḍya threw his spear into the sea which then receded and lay on the foot of the king. Hence he got the title *Vaṇamānabha-niṇṇa* Pāṇḍya.² The Larger *Sinnamūṇṇi* Plates state that the ocean even when agitated at the end of the *kāḷpa* bore the form of the Pāṇḍya's foot.³ At the end of the previous *kāḷpa*, it is stated, there was a powerful king named Pāṇḍya who was ruling at the entrance into the sea (i.e. on the coast of a gulf) and that the very same king at the beginning of the current *kāḷpa*, was born as *Badrā* (the son of the Moon). The above references would show that while the Pāṇḍya territory was perhaps subjected after a

1. Namb's *Tiruvaiyṇḍal*, No. 47, Parāṇḍō's *Tiruvaiyṇḍal*, No. 4.

2. Namb's *Tiruvaiyṇḍal* No. 21, Parāṇḍō's *Tiruvaiyṇḍal*, No. 13. Larger *Sinnamūṇṇi* Plates's 11-90-91, Smaller *Sinnamūṇṇi* Plates 11-9-10, Parāṇḍō's *Madurai* I A 5, Vol. I, p. 18 ff.

3. Verse 1.

4. Vēḷḷamkurai gran. v 4 E I Vol. XVII, p. 293, 304, Verse 5 of the Madurai Museum Plates. Japanevarman also states that the Pāṇḍya had survived the disasters of the great *kāḷpa*.

ravages by the sea, owing perhaps to its proximity to the sea, the Pāṇdyas were quite able to maintain their mastery over the seas.

The submission of the ocean to the Pāṇdyas seems to have been a strong family tradition owing perhaps to their sea-girt kingdom, their naval power and their sea-borne trade from the earliest historical times. These accounts probably testify also to the fact that the Pāṇdyas had their earlier capitals on the sea coast and that these had to be shifted from time to time owing to the ravages caused by natural forces. The change of capital of the Pāṇḍyan kings is corroborated by Pliny who refers to the transfer of capital from Keṅkai to Madurai.¹ The *Solappadikāram*² and the *Aṇṭalogu*³ state that a portion of the Pāṇḍya country was swallowed by the sea. It is said that the sea of the first or second Sangam was Kavāṭapuram. The *Rāmāṇa*⁴ and the *Aṭṭaṭṭa*⁵ refer to a Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa. Hence the available evidence shows that the Pāṇḍyas had various capitals at different times. Probably the change of the Pāṇḍya capitals led to the belief that there were three different academies.

The whole question of the age and historicity of the Tamil Sangam has given rise to a great deal of controversy. The earliest available account of the three Sangams occurs in the introduction to the commentary on *Tiruvalluvar*, *Aṇṭapurāṇ* c. A.D. 650.⁶ It states that these Sangams lasted for 9,990 years altogether, in that 8,598 poets were their members and that 197 Pāṇḍyan kings were their patrons. It states that the Pāṇḍyas founded three Sangams or academies—the first, middle and the last. The first Sangam which was at Tenmadurai was headed by Agastyaṇṇār had 549 members, included 4,449 poets and lasted for 4,440 years. It was patronised by 89 kings from Kāśyapa Valudiy to Kāṭṭiḷgōṇ. After Tenmadurai was swallowed by the sea, the second or middle Sangam was founded at Kavāṭapuram. It had 59 members such as Agastyaṇṇār, Tolkappiyaṇṇār, included 3,700 poets and lasted for 3,700 years. Its patrons were 59 Pāṇḍya kings

1. Warington: *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 167.

2. *Caṇṭo xi*, ll. 17-22.

3. *Mullaikkalī*, 104; 1-4.

4. *Kṛtī Kāṇḍ*, ch. 41-19.

5. *ib.*, ch. 11.

6. S. Vasiyapur Pillai: *Ilakkīya Dīpaṁ*, pp. 28, 101.

from Vondarccolan to Mudattirumāran. After Kavāṭapuram was lost in the sea Mudattirumāran made Vaḍamadurai (i. e. modern Madurai) his capital and set up the third Sangam which had 49 members including Nakkarar, Maruṭanāṅganar and others. There were 449 poets and some of the works composed were *Neṇṇatogai*, *Kuruntogai*, *Purāṇāṇṇu*, *Kalittogai* and others. The Sangam lasted for 1850 years and was patronised by 40 kings from Maṭṭaṭṭumāran to Uṅṅaperavaluḍi. This account seems too legendary and artificial to be accepted completely.

The traditional story of the origin of the Sangam as given in the *Maṭṭapurāṇas*¹ is equally legendary and does not help in solving the problem. Obviously both the accounts are a mixture of fact and fiction, exaggerating the glory and greatness of the Sangam. Since the idea of an organised literary society was not so common in ancient India, a Tamil academy might or all probability have existed in Tamiṇṇaṅṁ, patronised by all the Tamil kings and perhaps to a greater degree by the Pāṇḍya kings. Possibly three stages in the growth of this academy along with the expansion of the Pandya capitals might have led to the belief that there were three different academies at different times. But there is no indication of the progressive evolution of the Sangam. Most of the extant Sangam works belong to what is commonly known as the first Tamil Sangam said to have flourished at the presiding of Maṭṭaṭṭar.

The word *sangam* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *saṅgha*. While line 762 (*paṇṇakūṭṭuṇṇa apuṇḍaḥ saḥ*) of the *Maṇimekkaṇ*, may be taken to be a reference to some kind of literary academy, the common usage of the term *saṅgam* does not occur in the earlier or extant Sangam works. It probably came into popular use after the establishment of a Jaina Brāhṁa Saṅgha at Madurai by Vapaṇaśarip in A.D. 470² and after the rise to prominence of Jainism and Buddhism in the Tamil country. The *Maṇimekkaṇ* refers to a Buddhist Saṅgha in the Tamil country.³ These *saṅghas* refer to religious organisations and do not refer to any literary academy. Probably in the contacts between the Śaiva cults and Jainism and Buddhism in

1. Paranjōti's *Tirumaiyāḍai*, No. 51.

2. J.B.B.A.S. Vol. XVII, pt. 1, No. xlv, p. 74.

3. *Maṇimekkaṇ*, vū: 113-114.

about the 5th-6th centuries A.D. the word *saṅgha* was also taken up and used by the Hindus and transformed to denote the Tamil academy.

The phrases that one gets in Tamil making use of the term *saṅgam* are such words as *saṅgamal! Tam!*¹ *saṅgamugattam!*², and *saṅgattam!*³. Here too the term *saṅga* seems to mean Tamil verse or poetry. Appar (7th century A.D.), the earliest of the *Dēvānam* poets, states that Tiruṇ, a poor poet, was helped by Śiva to gain a purse of gold in the *Ṣaṅgam*⁴. This is probably the earliest instance of the term *saṅgam* being used in the sense of a literary academy. The Uṇṇai *Ṣaṅgam* plates while speaking about the achievements of the early Pāṇḍya crown the Pāṇḍyas with proficiency in Tamil and Sanskrit⁵, the translation of the *Mahābhārata*⁶ into Tamil, and the establishment of the *Ṣaṅgam* in the town of Madurai⁷.

The beginnings of the Tamil *Ṣaṅgam* go back to 9000 B.C. according to the account in the introduction to *Iravayūṭ's Agapporu!* This too seems to be too early to be accepted. If a careful study is made of the synchronisms between the kings, chieftains and poets suggested by the eponyms at the end of many of the poems in the extant *Ṣaṅgam* works, one finds that the bulk of the poems are refers to occurrences within a period of from about 100 to 250 years. Thus all available evidences indicate that the *Ṣaṅgam* Age may be taken to have flourished during the early centuries of the Christian era.

The extant *Ṣaṅgam* works consist mostly of schemata orologies such as the *Elṭuttogai*, which includes *Narṇṇai*, *Kuruntogai*,

1. *Uṇṇai-saṅgamāṇṇar Tiruṇṇai Dēvānam*, a. 10-3-4; *Tirumai-saṅgamāṇṇar Periva Tirumoli*, III. 9-10.

2. *Tirumai-saṅgamāṇṇar Periva Tirumoli*, m. 4-10.

3. *Uṇṇai-saṅgamāṇṇar Tiruṇṇai Dēvānam*, 30-15.

4. *Dēvānam Tirupattāṇṇar Tiruṇṇai Dēvānam* 2: 2.

5. *Lines* 94-95.

6. *Ibid.* 1. 102.

7. *Ibid.* 11. 102-103. 'Madhurāpuric saṅgam vattam!'

Muṭattirumōṣṇam. He is the author of *Narṇṇai* 105 and 228. Tradition states that he lived at the end of the second Tamil Sangam and that after Kavāṭapuram was lost in the sea, he came north and made Maṇalūr as the Pāṇḍya capital and that soon afterwards he founded Madurai city and established the third Sangam.

Paṭṭaṅgaṭṭai: Mudukuṇḍump - Peruvaludi. The Vēlvikkūṭi grant calls this king Paṭṭaṅga Mudukuṇḍump Peruvaludi.¹ From *Puram* it may be inferred that Neṇṇiyōn was his ancestor but it is not known what distance of time separated these two rulers. Mudukuṇḍump appears to have been an ardent patron of the *vaidika* religion and of Vedic scholars. The title *Paṭṭaṅgaṭṭai* or *Paṭṭai* indicates that he either performed many sacrifices or helped the performance of sacrifices.² He granted the village of Vēlvikkūṭi to Narkorṇan of Karkai to help him complete a yāga.³

Mudukuṇḍump-Peruvaludi was noted for his generosity and his liberal gifts of gold to the *virali*, the *aiyiyar*⁴ and other ministers. He is praised by three contemporary poets in five short poems in *Puram*.⁵ He appears to have been a great conqueror who ruled over a large territory⁶ and had powerful armies.

Kāṇṇiṭṭar says that "the king's umbrella is lowered only when circumambulating the temple of the three-eyed God".⁷ Besides being one of the earliest references to Śiva in Tamil literature,

1. Vēlvikkūṭi grant 11.32, 109-110.

2. *Puram* 15 refers to the many big *yagas* which were performed in his day. The smaller *Seṇṇamāṇar* poems refer to the thousand sacrifices performed by a Pāṇḍya ancestor 110. This is most probably a reference to Mudukuṇḍump Peruvaludi.

3. Vēlvikkūṭi grant, 11.31-39, 106-111.

4. *Puram* 9, 15 and 64.

5. *Neṇṇimaiyar*, *Puram* 9.12, 15, *Nedumpaṭṭavattinṇai*, *Puram* 64, *Karikkūṭar*, *Puram* 6.

6. *Karikkūṭar*, *Puram* 6, 11.1-4.

7. *Puram* 6, 17-8.

this also shows that the king was deeply religious and was a devout Saiva. The poet himself appears to be a devotee of Śiva.¹

All available evidences show that Pāṇḍyaśālan Mudukaṇḍump Peruvāḷudī, was one of the greatest of the early Pāṇḍya kings. He was one of the ancestors of the victor of Tolaivāṇaṅganū.² But it is not known when exactly Mudukaṇḍum occupied the Pāṇḍya throne.³

Paṣumpūt-Pāṇḍyan. There are several references to this king and a number of poets have sung about him.⁴ He seems to have been a great warrior and conqueror and had he title 'cō' who conquered many lands'.⁵ The most significant event of his reign appears to be his conquest of Aṇḍan⁶ and Kaṅgar.⁷ The king's capital city was Kūḍal Maḍara.⁸ Since Paṣumpūt Pāṇḍyan has been sung by Naḍikīrar and his father Maṇḍarakkanaḱkāyaār he

1. The poet's name reminds one of Kari Navanar, one of the sixtythree Saiva saints mentioned in the *Peyya Puranam* and of the poet Kariyar who, along with Nariyar, came to Madurai to worship Śiva, and for whose sake Śiva performed a *līla* at Madurai. Nambī's *Tiruvilaiyadu* No. 52.

2. *Maduraikkāṇai*. 11. 759-61.

3. K. V. Sivaraja Pillai in *The Chronology of the Early Tamils* assigns him to 75-100 A.D. and says that he was the same as Peruvāḷudī who died in the Velijyam Unalam.

4. Ilamp Pūṇan Devaṅḡr, *Agam* 241; Naḱkīrar *Agam* 253; Varrāṇai 350; Paravar, *Agam* 102; *Kuruntogai* 393; Maḍurakkanaḱkāyanar, *Agam* 738.

5. *Agam* 253. "Nādupalaṇḍa Paṣumpūt Pāṇḍyan".

6. *Agam* 11.2, 18.2? Aṇḍan referred to here was a chief of the Aṇ country in the region of the Pottaya mountains in the extreme south of the Tamil country. From the description given in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* c. 75 A.D. it is seen that the Aṇ country was included in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom though its name is not specifically mentioned. W. H. Dillman *ed. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* para. 53, 55, 58-59. Ptolemy c. 150 A.D. mentions the Aṇ country. J. W. McTear, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* Sections 3, pp. 53-54. After his defeat by the Pāṇḍya king the Aṇ chief Aṇḍan apparently had become his feudatory since *Kuruntogai* 183 refers to him as the Pāṇḍya's 'Vēṇaṇ Aṇḍan' and says that he fought for the Pāṇḍya king against the Kaṅgar. Perhaps the Aṇ continued to rule as feudatory as the feudatories of Śālan of the Pāṇḍya.

7. *Agam* 259; *Kuruntogai*, 393.

8. *Agam* 231, 253.

may be assigned to the period immediately preceding the reign of Nedunjezhan, the victor of Talaiyalanganam. Most probably he was the immediate predecessor of Nedunjezhan.

It is not known if Pāṇḍyan Pannāju Tandān, the author of *Kuruntogan* 370, who ordered the compilation of *Nirraṇai*, is the same as Paṇṇiput Pāṇḍyan.

Talaiyalanganathiruvēṇṇa Neṇḍiṇḍiyān Neṇḍiṇḍiyān, the victor of Talaiyalanganam, has been called the most renowned Pāṇḍya king of the Sangam age. He may be assigned to the beginning of the 3rd C. A.D.¹ Maṇḍuḷi, Maruṇḍār and Naḷḷiār have each written a poem in the *Pattupṇṇu* in praise of this king besides several minor pieces in the *Puram* and *Agam*.² Several other poets have also sung about this king³.

Neṇḍiṇḍiyān was a great conqueror renowned for his heroism. He came to the throne as a youth⁴. Soon after his accession, the Cēra and Cōla kings as well as many Tāmi chieftains tried to form a confederacy against him, taking advantage of his tender age. The enemies invaded his kingdom and seem to have penetrated almost as far inside as the capital city itself. The Pāṇḍya king defeated them in a battle, probably outside the walls of the city⁵ and then pursued them far into their own dominions. The decisive battle took place at Talaiyalanganam, about eight miles northwest of Tiruvarūr in Tanjore District. The seven enemies who were defeated at the battle of Talaiyalanganam were the Cēra and Cōla kings⁶ and five

1. S. Varadaputi Pillai *Irakkaḷa Dīpaṁ* p. 43 ff.

2. Maṇḍuḷi Mūṇḍanar, *Madurakkūṇai*, *Puram* 24, 26, 372, Naḷḷiār *Nēdu nēḷḷai*, *Agam* 36, 57, 253, 266, *Nirraṇai* 358.

3. Irakkaṇṇēṇṇi Kūḷār, *Puram* 76, 77, 78, 79. Kaḷḷaṇṇar, *Puram* 29, 35, 371. *Agam* 101. Paṇṇanar, *Agam* 16, Poḍumbiḷ Kūḷār Maṇḍanar, *Nirraṇai* 307, Kuḍaṇṇaṇṇiār, *Puram* 10, 19. Vāṇḍēṇṇi Kūḷār, *Agam* 47 and 175.

4. *Puram* 72, 77, 78.

5. *Agam* 116.

6. V. Kanakasabhai Pulai in *The Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (p. 84) says that Nedunjezhan ascended the throne a few years before the death of Karikālī Cōla and that after his victory at Talaiyalanganam the Pāṇḍya was friendly with the great Cōla.

minor chieftains. The Cēra contemporary of the Pāṇḍya was Sēy who was surnamed "Yānalakkaṇ" — "elephant eye". The five chieftains were Tiṇṇaiyan, Eḷṇi, the chief of Eṇṇamāyūr, Irugovēn-mān and Poruṇan.¹ The victory of the young Pāṇḍya king was so decisive that it made a very lasting impression on the minds of the people. There are many references to this victory by contemporary as well as later poets.² By the time the Larger Śāntamōṇṇi plates were issued in the 10th century the memory of the battle had become almost a legend so that this victory was enumerated along with many other deeds of the ancestral Pāṇḍya kings.³

There are also references to other battles and conquests of Nedunjelivan besides the famous victory won by him. It is said that the Cēra king Sēy was taken captive after the battle of Talaṅgaganam and imprisoned by the Pāṇḍya king. The Cēra king however managed to escape.⁴ Nedunjelivan appears to have pursued him up to the shores of the Western sea and defeated him in a battle near the Cēra port of Maśīra and brought away an image 'pāṇḍya'. The Pāṇḍya also defeated the people of Kuṭṭaṇḍu.⁵ Munḍi Vēl, perhaps one of the feudatory chiefs of the Cēra, was dispossessed of his lands.⁶

Nedunjelivan also conquered Mūḷakkurram from Veḷ Evvi and Maṇḍuṇṇakūṇṇam from the Tenmudir Veḷar.⁷ Formerly these two kūṇṇams were divisions in Puḍukkōṭṭai and Arantāṅgi (Tanjore District and Tiruvāṇānai (Ramanad District, Taluk). The *Maduraikkōṭṭai* also refers to Nedunjelivan's capture of the town

1. Nakkirar, *Agam*, 36: 13-22.

2. *Maduraikkōṭṭai*, 11: 125-129, *Agam* 175, 209, *Param* 9, 26, 7b, 37a, 372; *Narrai* 387.

3. The Larger Śāntamōṇṇi plates 11: 100-102 state that the Pāṇḍya king won the victory of Talaṅgaganam against two kings who were his equals.

4. *Param* 17.

5. Nakkirar, *Agam* 57 and Tāyantaṇṇanār, *Agam* 149.

6. *Maduraikkōṭṭai*, 1, 105.

7. *Ibid.* 1, 345.

8. Māṅguḍi Maruḍanār, *Param* 24: 18-23. Paranaṇ in *Agam* 266 refers to the defeat of Evvi, the chieftain of Nidūr by Paṇṇuṇṇi Poruṇḍalar. It is not clear whether this is also a reference to Nedunjelivan's victory over Evvi.

Śāliyūr named after the paddy¹ and his taking the rich town of Maduvēl². The king is called the Lord of Keṅka³ and the warlord of the southern Paravaṅgar⁴. The *Maduraikkāṇṭi* also contains a full length description of the city of Madura, and of the Pāṇḍya country under Neṅgaṇṭaiyan's rule.

Neṅgaṇṭaiyan was not only a great conqueror but also a patron of the Vedas, Brahmans and Vēdic scholars. He helped the performance of Vēdic sacrifices⁵. The king was a great patron of poets and has been eulogised by many famous poets like Māṅgudī, Maruṭanār, Nakkīrar, Praṇar and Kallāḍar. Tradition says that Nakkīrar was the head of the third Sangam but the king himself says that Māṅgudī Maruṭan was the leading poet of his court. Both the poets have sang quite long hymns in praise of the king in *Patup-pōṭi*⁶. Most probably the traditional account is also true. Māṅgudī Maruṭan might have been the leading poet in the early part of the king's reign. Perhaps Nakkīrar succeeded to the position after Maruṭan's death and was the leading poet in the later years of the king's reign.

Śiṭṭamāḍattuttuṇṭaiya Nannāṇan. He has been sung by Śiṭṭala Śāṭṭanār in *Puṇam* 59. It is not certain whether he is the same as Laṅṭaiyan and whether he took the title Nannāṇan after ascending the throne. His name indicates that he died in a Cīṭṭamāḍam.

Paṇḍi-kāṇṭṭaiyāṇṭaiya Nannāṇan. He has been sung by as many as five poets⁷, including Nakkīrar and Maruṭan. Nannāṇanār. This king has been praised as well as censured⁸, by the poets.

1. Lines 87-8.

2. Lines 119-24. This town is not identifiable.

3. *Maduraikkāṇṭi*. 11. 138 and 144.

4. *Puṇam* 26. 12-15.

5. *Puṇam* 72.

6. *Maduraikkāṇṭi* by Māṅgudī Maruṭan and *Neṇṇalpaḍai* by Nakkīrar.

7. Nakkīrar *Puṇam* 56, Maruṭan *Ṭanaganaṇ* *Puṇam* 55, Avūr Mūṭṭankīlār, *Puṇam* 196. Bēṭi Śāṭṭanār, *Puṇam* 198 and Kaṭṭikannanār of *Kavirippampattinam* *Puṇam* 57.

8. The king has been censured by Avūr Mūṭṭankīlār (*Puṇam* 196) and Bēṭi Śāṭṭanār *Puṇam* 198 for his liberality. It is not known how far this was justified.

Nakkīrar compares the king and his good qualities to the gods like Śiva Viṣṇu Balarāma and Maruṭa.¹ The poet also says that the king drank out of gold vessels, wine brought in flasks by the Yavanas.²

Nakkīrar has sung about the victor of Tārayālaṅgāram and the Pāṇḍya who died in the Ilavandigaippaḷi.³ Marudan Ilanāgan the son of Mārgudī Marudan, has also sung about the latter.⁴ Ilanāgan Ilavan gaippaḷi tuṇṇiya Nammāraṇ may be assigned to the period immediately following that of the victor of Tārayālaṅgāram. It is not known whether he was his son and successor Marudan Ilanāgan has sung about Ilavandigaippaḷi tuṇṇiya Nammāraṇ and Kuṭakarat tuṇṇiya Māraṇ Valiṭi.⁵ Hence both may be assigned to about the same period and they may have succeeded to the throne at short intervals. Probably Māraṇ Valiṭi was the later of the two. Veṇṇiyambalattut-tuṇṇiya Peruvāḷuḍi may also be taken to be of the same age since both he⁶ and the Pāṇḍya who died in the Ilavandigaippaḷi,⁷ have been sung by Kārikkattannār of Kāvīrppūm-paṭṭinam.

Kūṭakāraṭṭut-tuṇṇiya Māraṇ Valiṭi. This king has been sung by Arūr Maṇḍayanār⁸ and Marudan Ilanāgan.⁹ The latter states that the king caused the northern kings "adapula mannaṭ" to "fade away" or in other words that he conquered them.

Veṇṇiyambalattut-tuṇṇiya Peruvāḷuḍi. He was a contemporary and a friend of the Cōla King Karāṇṇirattanṇya Perumumāyavan. Kārikkattannār of Kāvīrppūm-paṭṭinam has sung about the two kings as they were seated together. The poet compares the Pāṇḍya to Viṣṇu and the Cōla to Baladeva and says that they

1. *Puram* 56, 1-16. The king has also been compared to Viṣṇu in *Puram* 57, and to Śiva in *Puram* 55 by other poets.

2. *Puram* 56, 11, 17-20.

3. *Puram* 56.

4. *Puram* 55.

5. *Puram* 52.

6. *Puram* 58.

7. *Puram* 57.

8. *Puram* 57.

9. *Puram* 52.

looked like Viṣṇu and Baladēva¹. While the Cōḷa is referred to as the king of Uṇaiyūr, the Pāṇḍya is called the king of Kūḍal (Madurai) noted for its Tamil².

Uṅṟapperuvalūdi who took Kāṇappēr This Pāṇḍya king subdued Veṅgai Māraṇ, the chieftain of Kāṇappēr³ (Kāḷanārkkōḷ). He has been sung by Auvaiyār⁴ and Auvūr Mūlanakōḷār⁵. The king himself was a poet and composed *Agam* 26 and *Narriṇai* 98. Auvaiyar has sung about this king on the occasion when he was sea-eating together with the Cēra King Māruvenkō and the Cōḷa Rājāsuvam Vēṭṭi Perumarkkūḷi. This shows that the three kings were contemporaries. Further it also indicates that the three Tamil king had friendly relations at that time. Since Bēṛi Sātanār has sung about Rājāsuvam Vēṭṭi Perumarkkūḷi and Ilavandigaṇṇai (Iṇṇai) Naṇṇār, Uṅṟapperuvalūdi may also be assigned to the period immediately following that of Nāṇḍiyār, the victor of Talaiva-langānam⁶.

Karung. Olcōḷ Perumpryar Valūdi He has been sung by Irumbūlattiṇaiyār, the uncle of the Cōḷa Karakāṇ-Peruvolaṅkāṇ. Hence one may assign this king to about the same period as the Cōḷa Karakāḷa or slightly earlier. The poem calls the Pāṇḍyas as the Karuvaiyār and calls the king for his chastity and says that the Pāṇḍya queen was a model of chastity.

While there are references to many other names of the Pāṇḍya kings of the Sangam period it is not clear where they could be placed.

1. *Puram* 58: 14-17.

2. *Ibid* 1: 13 "Tamil Kūḍal".

3. *Puram* 21, 367.

4. *Puram* 367.

5. *Puram* 21.

6. Uṅṟapperuvalūdi is believed to be the contemporary of Tiruvalluvar, the author of *Kural*. Tradition says that he caused the anthology of the *Aganṅarū* to be made, with the help of Radrasanmar, the son of Uppūṇkud Kūḷār. He is also considered to be the last Pāṇḍya king of the third Sangam. It is said that the Sangam did not continue to function after his time. From the available evidences these statements appear to be incorrect.

7. *Puram* 3.

chronologically. Some of these names may even pertain to Pāṇḍya princes and members of the royal family who did not actually reign as kings.

Pāṇḍya Ariṇḍar Namb. Since he has been sung by Pāṇḍaiyār, the great friend of Kōpperanḍiā, both these kings may be taken to be contemporaries. Piṣarāṇḍaiyār advises this Pāṇḍya king on the economy of moderation of taxation¹. Ariṇḍar Namb is also the author of a number of small poems², which indicate his wisdom.

Bhūtapṇḍiyan who took Oḷaiyūr. Little is known about this king apart from what one can gather from his own compositions³. One poem says that he was a young valiant, but his queen was highly cultured, that many princes and chieftains were his friends and that he placed a high value on friendship⁴. He was a great warrior. He conquered Oḷaiyūr. On his death his queen continued to reign⁵.

Aṟyappaṇḍaṇḍa Neduṇḷiyan. As his name indicates he won a victory against an Āryan army. Nothing further is known about the Āryas who were defeated by this king. It is believed that the tragedy of Kōvān's death at Madurai occurred in his reign, causing the king to die of a broken heart⁶. His queen, Kōpperanḍēvi, did not survive her husband and died immediately afterwards. A short poem written by this king⁷ puts learning above birth and caste. His son Selvan, a so-called Verrivēṇ-Gelvan or Ilaiṇḷivan, was the viceroy of K. Iḷkai which was the chief Pāṇḍya sea-port as well as a secondary capital.

Ilampervuḷuḍi who died in the Sea. He was the author of *Pari-pāḍal* 15 and *Puṇam* 182⁸. Hence he may be assigned to about the

1. *Puṇam* 184.

2. *Puṇam* 188, *Agam* 28, *Kuruntogai* 130 and *Narriṇai* 15.

3. *Puṇam* 71, *Agam* 23.

4. *Puṇam* 71. His friends were Māṣan of Maival, on the banks of the Vaigai; Ṽḍai of Eyil, Anduvan Sāttan, Adan Alin and Iyakkān.

5. Oliyamungalam in *Pudakkottai*.

6. *Puṇam* 246, 247.

7. *Silappadikaram* epilogue to Canto II.

8. *Puṇam* 183.

9. *Narriṇai* 55 and 56 are written by a Peruvuḷuḍi. It is not known whether this is the same as Ilampervuḷuḍi.

4th-5th century A.D. the age of *Paripadal*. The *Puram* poem beginning "*Unṣṣalamma*" shows the great wisdom of this king. *Paripadal* 15 is in honour of Viṣṇu and describes the Taramaṇṇiṭṭolai hill near Madurai. The poem shows that the king was a devout Vaiṣṇava.

Nalaṇṭadu. Nalavāḍi, the author of *Paripadal* 12 may also be assigned to the age of the *Paripadal*. The poem is in praise of river Vaigai.

The other Pāṇḍya whose names occur in the *Saṅgam* works are Nambū, Neṇṭai, Eyaḍi, Aṇḍar, Maṇar, Kuṭṭaṇṭuṇṇar, Māḷar, Māraṇ¹, and Māraṇ Vāṇṭar².

C. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE SANGAM AGE

1. Government

While monarchy was the form of government, the Pāṇḍya king was far from being an irresponsible autocrat. He was guided by the principles laid down in the *Dharma Śāstra*³, and assisted by the advice of his wise ministers and poets. There is a reference to a *Vāṇṭerunkūṭu*⁴, in the *Madurakkāṇṭi*. The commentator takes this to be a reference to the *Aimperunkūṭu* which is generally taken to mean a council of five ministers. He says that since *kūṇḍi* or ministers had already been mentioned earlier in the poem⁵, only the other four members of the *Aimperunkūṭu* were being referred to here by the poet as the *Vāṇṭerunkūṭu*. It is not clear whether this is the correct interpretation of the term or whether the term refers to a body distinct from the *Aimperunkūṭu* which was commonly associated with the government in the ancient Tamil kingdoms. The

1. *Puram* 239.

2. Author of *Puram* 345, *Aṅam* 228 and *Kurunṭagai* 345.

3. Author of *Kurunṭagai* 245.

4. Author of *Neruvai* 97 and 301.

5. *Madurakkāṇṭi* 11. 191-92.

6. *Ibid* 11. 507-10.

7. *Ibid* 11. 493-99.

Kāndar appear to be ministers in charge of accounts. The *Madurakāvī* mentions that the king's ministers lived in large and luxurious mansions² and that they were watchful of the cause of rectitude. Brahmins often acted as mediators and ambassadors and were sent on missions from one royal court to another.³

In the king's court of justice equity⁴ was dealt out impartially as though weighed with a pair of scales. The *Aṅgīyattār* or assembly called parties to dispute and decided after full enquiry. An instance of this and is mentioned by Madurai Tamil *Ākkūṭar Kaṇḍavan Maṇḍanār*.⁵ The poets also often advised the king to rule justly and impartially. One poet stresses the need for impartiality in the king's justice and for valor, grace and liberality in his conduct.⁶ Another poet contrasts the good effects of moderate taxation with disadvantages of heavy exactions.⁷

In administration the lot system seems to have been in vogue for certain purposes, as may be inferred from a poem which refers to picking good *ōḷas* or cadjan leaves from a pot and taking oaths thereon.⁸

2. Madurai City in the Sangam Age

A careful examination of the available descriptions of Madurai in the various Tamil works of the Sangam period shows that the city of Madurai was well planned and built according to the principles of town planning laid down in the *Śīpa Sastras*.⁹

1. Ibid. II. 1870, 493-502. They adjudged between right and wrong and saw to it that the king did not err into wrong judgments and that *dharma* was protected and good will was encouraged and that no fault ever came their way and thus gained for themselves widespread fame.

2. *Puram* 305.

3. Ibid. II. 489-92.

4. *Agam* 256.

5. *Puram* 55.

6. *Puram* 184.

7. *Agam* 77.

8. *Nedunāl-ōḷar*. II. 72-79, *Madurai-kōnci*, II. 646-47.

Besides many stray references in numerous Sangam works picturesque and detailed descriptions of the city of Madurai are given in the *Maduraikkāṇi* and *Nedunālōḍai*, both of which may be assigned about the 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

The *Maduraikkāṇi*, the longest poem in the *Patuppāṭṭu* collection, contains a graphic picture covering 370 lines of Madurai city in the early centuries of the Christian era.¹ Māṇḍi Marudanār the author of this poem, states that the city of Madurai stood in the centre of the flourishing Paṇḍya country which had as many as five different natural regions. *ṭṭaiy*. According to his poem Madurai was a large and beautiful city with a palace a number of temples, two large crowded bazaars, and many well-laid streets with lofty mansions. The king's courts of justice are also described.² The city was surrounded by a deep moat and the city walls pierced by high gates with towers over them. The Vaigai skirted the city walls and formed a natural defence on one side.

Approaching the city from the Vaigai side the poet describes the various defence works and fortifications surrounding the city. Among the numerous groves and orchards along the banks of the Vaigai lived the Perumpanar, a class of panegyrists or poets.³ Madurai was surrounded by a deep moat⁴ and a high rampart.⁵ The strong and ancient city gateways had high towers and doorways with guardian deities.⁶ The heavy doors were blackened by frequent applications of oil.⁷ The streets were long and broad as a river.⁸ The houses on either side were well planned and built.

1. *Maduraikkāṇi*, II. 331-669.

2. *Ibid.*, II. 489-82.

3. *Ibid.* II. 331-42.

4. *Ibid.* I. 351.

5. *Ibid.* I. 352.

6. *Ibid.* II. 353, 355.

7. *Ibid.* I. 354. It was an ancient belief that guardian deities resided in doorways. A figure of Gajalakṣmi was generally carved on the lintel. Oil, honey and white mustard seeds were applied to doorways perhaps as an offering to the guardian deity, *Nedunālōḍai*, II. 85-86, *Narrai*, 370-3-4. *Tamiraparai*, 1. 228. *Mammūkkāṭai*, 3. 134 (Perhaps this application of oil was also acted as a preservative of wood).

8. *Maduraikkāṇi* II. 559; *Nedunālōḍai*, I. 29.

This may mean either that there were different types of houses for different classes of people as prescribed in the *Sāstras*, or as Naccinārk-
 kuṇṇiṭṭar the commentator, says, that the houses were well built
 with many different parts such as *mandapam*, hall, kitchen, *manai* and
 so on which were essential parts of an Indian house. The houses had
 many windows¹, and were well ventilated. There were residences
 for men belonging to different religious orders, both Hindu and also
 probably non-Hindu orders as well.² There were mansions of the
 officers of the State and leading merchants.³ Different localities
 were assigned to different professions and craftsmen who crowded
 the streets with their wares.⁴

The streets were always busy and full. The surging crowds
 speaking in different languages and the sound of the musical ins-
 truments and beating of drums rent the air. The two big bazaars⁵
 were decorated with many kinds of flags such as those hoisted on
 the occasion of temple festivals, the flags captured in battle as
 trophies, the pennants flying over liquor and other shops.

The normal traffic of the streets had to be suspended on the oc-
 casions when the king's forces—elephants, war chariots, cavalry and
 drunken soldiers appeared in the streets and had to be given way.⁶
 Pedlars and petty traders pined a brisk trade in the shade of the lofty
 mansions.⁷

At the evenings the sound of the *pana* drum⁸ invited the people
 of the country to the festivals being celebrated. Rich nobles attend-
 ed, women rode or drove along the streets.⁹ The ladies of the
 house came to the high terraces to enjoy the cool air of the night,
 In the evening noble processions passed through the streets.

1. *Maduraikkāṇṭi*, 11. 557-558.

2. *Ibid.*, 11. 407-474, 487.

3. *Ibid.*, 11. 493-506.

4. *Ibid.*, 11. 51-52.

5. *Ibid.*, 11. 363-73; *Agam*, 93. 9-10, 149.

6. *Maduraikkāṇṭi*, 11. 380-393.

7. *Ibid.*, 11. 405-406.

8. A kind of drum used in the *marudam* region.

9. *Maduraikkāṇṭi*, 11. 431-42.

Drunken warriors with many scars and wounds roamed about the streets. As midnight approached, the sound of the conches and drums ceased, shops were closed, blinds were let down and the citizens prepared themselves to rest.² While the city slept, the burglars were awake and the poet describes in detail their dress and their modus operandi.³ But the burglars were fooled very often owing to the alertness of the night watch who went on their rounds unhampered even by the heavy rains and storms that may blow.⁴

Elephants and other wild animals kept in the royal mews disturbed the stillness of the early morning with their roar.⁵

The *Maduraikkāṇṇi* thus gives an account of a day in the ancient city of Madurai and Nakkirar in *Nedunālūdai* gives a vivid description of the palace.

Learned *Sūpas* designed and constructed the palace strictly according to the rules of the *Sipa Sūtras*. They began the construction of the palace at an auspicious hour on a day in the *Citra* month. The architectural experts stretched a thin thread, marked the directions of the compass, located correctly the gods of the various directions and set out the plan of a house fit for famous kings.⁶

The lofty gateways of the palace looked like a tunnel through a mountain and were high enough to allow the State elephant to enter with the royal standard carried erect on its back.⁷ The strong doors were smooth and well fitted. On the lintel of the doorway was carved the figure of Gajalakṣmī with lotus flowers and flanked by elephants on both sides.⁸

The courtyard of the palace was strewn with sand. Here sported the milk deer and swan. Horses in the stables were restless. There were *makara* moulded drain pipes to carry off rain water from the terraces.⁹

1. Ibid. 11. 21-22.

2. Ibid. 11. 634-45.

3. Ibid. 11. 645-53.

4. *Maduraikkāṇṇi* 11. 676-77.

5. *Nedunālūdai* 11. 72-79.

6. Ibid. 11. 87-88.

7. Ibid. 11. 81-86.

8. Ibid. 11. 95-97.

In the inner apartment with many strong, round and black pillars the well-plastered walls were decorated with mural paintings of flowers and other ornamental designs.¹ In the royal bed chamber was a ivory wreath, ivory ~~on~~ well curtained, painted, ornamented and cushioned.²

The different well-guarded apartments of the palace were lit up with lamps held by *Vijayakup pāras* (i.e. Yavakupāras).³ Flags were flying in many parts of the palace.

3. SOCIAL LIFE

1. Castes and Communities

Madurai the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, was from early times a well-organised city. The *Saṅgam* literature gives a fairly complete and true picture of the social and economic life of the age. Most of the people were organised into occupational groups. Māṅgala Maruṭṭār says⁴ that there were only four castes, i.e., *iḍḍim pūnar paraiyār* and *kaḍambār* and only one God worthy of being worshipped by having paddy strewn before him, viz., the hero-stone erected in memory of the brave warrior who fell in battle. His sacrament shows the great antiquity of these castes.

The standard of living had reached a high degree of refinement in great cities like Madurai. The *Maduraikkāṇī* says that people who crowded the bazaars and streets spoke in a softer language,⁵ thus indicating that many nationalities and communities were in the city.

Many classes of artisans and craftsmen lived there. There were tailors, workers on shells, clanks and pearls, goldsmiths, barbers, makers of cloths, dealers in perfumes and flowers, and painters and artists.⁶

1. Ibid. II, 110-113.

2. Ibid. II, 115-135, 157-163.

3. Ibid. II, 101-105.

4. *Puram*, 335.

5. *Maduraikkāṇī*, II, 359-60.

6. Ibid., II, 511-18.

The Perumpānar, a class of panegyrists, lived on the outskirts of the metropolis Madurai, along the groves of the Vaigai banks.¹ The Maḷavas² and Maṇavas³ from among whom the warriors were recruited, also resided in the city. Nakkirar refers to the presence of Micecas and Yavanas also.⁴

The poet says that long before dawn one could hear the Brahmans reciting the Vēdas.⁵ From one *Puram* poem sung by Aavai-yār in praise of the three monarchs of Tamil land, it appears that it was the custom for kings to give Brahmans presents of flowers and gold with oblations of water.⁶

Being the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas, members of the infantry, cavalry, and the elephant corps were frequently in the city and their constant movements added to the bustle of the city life.⁷

4. Dress and Ornaments

The Tamils men and women were fond of bedecking themselves with flowers and ornaments of various kinds and the extant Sangam works give details about the mode of dress and the kinds of ornaments worn by the ancient Tamils of the Madurai country.

The *Nedumalāḍai* describes the simple manner in which the Pāṇḍya queen dressed herself when she was alone and separated from the king who had gone to fight.⁸ She wore only the *mangalaḍai* instead of numerous pearl garlands. In place of the big *makkatuckuḷai* she had on her ears the small *oḍiyar*. She wore bangles made out of the *śalampuri* chank and the *kōppinai* perhaps as a talisman for protection instead of the gold *ṭaḷ* on her arms. She put on the *crakkam* which was a kind of finger ring bent in the

¹ Ibid. II. 332-342.

² Ibid. I. 395.

³ Ibid. II. 590-599, 725-726.

⁴ *Nedumalāḍai*, II. 51-5.

⁵ *Madurakāviya*, IV. 604-66.

⁶ *Puram* 367. 3-9.

⁷ *Madurakāviya*, I. 376-394.

⁸ *Nedumalāḍai*, II. 136-147, 151.

shape of the open-mouth of the *adai* fish¹. She was clad in a simple cotton dress instead of richly embroidered ones. Her feet were bare of ornaments and were not decorated with the perfumed red cotton pastes.

The good taste and refinement of the period are reflected in the dress of the richer classes. The *Madurakkāñci* describing the noblemen of the city, says that they were clad in embroidered red silk dresses with flowing upper garments. Their swords decorated with gold work, hung by their sides. They wore flower garlands and on their legs, the warrior's anklets.² The king's generals wore pearls and flower garlands and sandal paste on their chests, gem-set gold rings, the *toḍi* or *utṛaṇṇai*, and well-starched fine dresses over which they wore the appropriate ornaments also.³ The *Madurakkāñci* curiously also gives a detailed sketch of the dark dresses and concealed weapons worn by burglars.⁴ Drunken *mīṇṇas* are also not forgotten as the *Nedunālādai* describes them roaming about the streets with their dress hanging loose on the back and front.⁵

Fine cotton dresses⁶ well starched⁷ were greatly used. The men wore a *naṭṭa* and a flowing upper garment. Often the dresses of the richer classes seem to have been of a very fine texture and richly embroidered. Some sort of turban or head-dress seems to have been in vogue.⁸ Flowers were worn by men and women on their hair and head-dresses.⁹ Flower circlets for the head were commonly used by men. These were worn by warriors also when going to battle. The hair was often worn in five plaits by women.¹⁰

1. Ibid. II. 143-4.

2. *Madurakkāñci*, II. 431-43.

3. Ibid. II. 75-76. The *toḍi* was a bangle-like ornament worn on the arm near the shoulders.

4. Ibid., I. 634-42.

5. *Nedunālādai*, II. 31-5.

6. *Madurakkāñci*, II. 554. 721-22. *Nedunālādai*, II. 143-46.

7. *Madurakkāñci*, II. 721-22, *Nedunālādai*, I. 154. *Kuruntogai*, 33. I 3, *Aṅgam* 387, 10.

8. *Madurakkāñci*, I. 494.

9. Ibid., II. 561-62.

10. *Madurakkāñci*, II. 139-140.

Tolai or *toḷi* in the shape of a ring or circle was worn on the shoulder¹. The *vaṇḍi* or *kaṇḍi*² was worn on the arm above the elbow. Shank bangles and especially of the *vaḷampor* shank were used³.

The chest and shoulders were ornamented with decorative designs made of perfumed paste and sandalwood paste⁴. The red cotton paste⁵ was also used for decorating the body. Pearl and flower garlands as well as gold chains⁶ were worn.

The legs were adorned with many kinds of anklets such as gold *śulambu*⁷ with pearls inside them. The men wore the *kaḷai*⁸.

(iii) Arts and Crafts

Arts and crafts had reached a high degree of perfection and there are references to different classes of artisans and skilled workers living in the Madurai city. Some of the poets of Madurai were also artisans. Skilled craftsmen in gold produced fine gold ornaments. As shank bangles were popular the shank-cutting industry was an important one. There are numerous references to the cutting of shank bangles with the help of peculiar saws⁹. *Avaiṇṇi* Brahmins whose occupation was shank cutting are also referred to¹⁰. Along the gulf of Mannar diving for shanks and pearls was carried on on a large scale. One poet refers to the *Sēri* of the shank divers at Koṭṭai¹¹. Big shanks were used for blowing during warfare¹², during festivals or such other occasions.

1. Ibid, II. 597, 712.

2. Ibid, I. 415.

3. *Maduraikāvi*, II. 141-142.

4. *Maduraikāvi*, II. 415, 493.

5. *Maduraikāvi*, I. 151.

6. *Maduraikāvi*, I. 569-580-81, *Maduraikāvi*, I. 136-37.

7. *Maduraikāvi*, II. 443-44.

8. Ibid, II. 395-96.

9. *Maduraikāvi*, I. 316, *Kaṇṇaṇṇi* 365, I, *Anguramūrti* 194.

10. *Agam* 24.

11. *Maduraikāvi*, II. 136-37.

12. Ibid, I. 182-5.

The artisans made articles of a highly decorative and artistic kind, like the lotus ornaments of the driver's seat on chariots. These ornaments were known as *koṭṭāṭi* or *koṭṭāṭi*.¹ Chariots with beautiful ivory inlay work are referred to.² Statues and images of gold and other metals were of fine workmanship.³ The blacksmiths turned out the requirements of the army such as armour⁴, weapons of offence and defence, as well as articles for domestic use such as lamps.⁵

There was a healthy rivalry among craftsmen and each one tried to do one better than his companions. An instance of this is given in *Neṭuna āḍai* which refers to the making of a cot for the bed chamber of the Pāṇḍya queen. The cot was finely wrought in ivory, well ornamented, curtained with painted cloth and cushioned.⁶ Doorways of palaces and houses which were decorated with Gaja-lakṣmī panels⁷ gave further scope to display the artistry of craftsmen.

Painting also reached a high degree of perfection. Walls were covered with decorative floral and abstract designs in various colours.⁸ Poets speak highly of the skill of painters. It is stated that the two big bazaars—the Madurai city looked as picturesque as a painting.⁹ Many painters lived in the city of Madurai. The artists understood their subjects so well that they were able to give expression in their paintings even to subtle and hidden characteristics.¹⁰ Stucco work¹¹ and stucco images and statues¹² were erected on walls.

Puram 77: 5, 368-4; *Maduraikkāṇṇi*, I. 752.

2. *Kuṟuntogai* 189.

3. *Agam* 392; *Maduraikkāṇṇi* II. 410-12.

4. *Maduraikkāṇṇi*, I. 740.

5. *Neṭuna āḍai*, I. 42.

6. *Neṭuna āḍai*, I. 115-135, 157-163.

7. *Neṭuna āḍai*, II. 81-85, *Kalittogai* 44, 5-7.

8. *Maduraikkāṇṇi*, I. 485, *Neṭuna āḍai*, II. 112-113.

9. *Maduraikkāṇṇi*, I. 365.

10. *Ibid.*, II. 516-18.

11. *Neṭuna āḍai*, I. 110.

12. *Agam* 157, 369, *Maduraikkāṇṇi* II. 723-24.

4 LEARNING AND LITERATURE

(i) Literary Conventions

The ancient Tamils had divided Tamizhagam into five natural regions or *tinai* called *Kuzhāṭi* or the hilly country, *Pāṭai* or the dry waterless region, *Aṭṭai* or the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands, *Marudam* or the lower courses of rivers, and *Neydal*, the littoral tract, which skirts the sea. With the geographical differences as a basis, the ancient Tamils evolved a set of literary conventions regarding these *tinai*. These conventions specified the launa and flora, produce, mode of occupation and industries, type of people, conditions of life, war and marriage and the deities and the kind of poetry to be sung respectively regarding these five natural regions.

The Pāṇḍya dynasty ruled in what may be termed the Madurai country which covers a fair proportion of all the five kinds of regions or *tinai*. Of the five *tinai*, by far the most important is the *marudam* or river valley region. Riverine areas have made significant contributions towards the progress of human culture and civilization in many parts of the world. The Pāṇḍya country was no exception. Madurai is situated in the heart of the *marudam* region in the Pāṇḍya country. In fact, the commoner Madurai is better known as *Aṭṭaradai*. Madurai was ideally suited to become the cultural centre as well as the capital of the ancient kingdom.

The literary conventions relating to the *marudam* region are enumerated in the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Some of these are that the fields and the tract surrounding them were called *marudam* and the crops grown were red rice and white rice. The buffalo and the beaver *marudam* *Terminasia alata*, and *kāñci* and the *cañji* creeper, the duck, the water-fowl, the swan and the nightingale, and the lotus and the red water-lily were the characteristic fauna and flora. Rivers, wells and ponds abounded in the region. The occupation of the people was paddy cultivation and their favourite pastime was bull-racing. The chief of the *marudam* region was known by the terms *Aras* and *maṭṭaṭṭan*. The *uḷaṭṭar* were the cultivators of the region. The *vilḷaḷar* were the tribesmen.

The formal type of *kaṭṭu* marriage was prescribed for the *marudam*. The themes for *marudam* poetry were *kaṭṭu* type of marriage, post-nuptial love and trouble from courtesans.

general named Pāṇḍya Enāḍi Nēḍunkaṇṇanār was also a poet. A large number of scholars were *Vellaiyār*¹

Quite a number of Vaiśvas, merchants, artisans and craftsmen have also proved themselves to be composers of verses. for instance there were poets who were cloth dealers² dealers in palm leaf products,³ goldsmiths⁴, gold testers⁵, blacksmiths⁶ and grain merchants⁷

Again, a number of poets appear to have been connected with the performance of various types of religious dances⁸.

Many women including a queen also found a place among the galaxy of poets.⁹

Poets from Madurai : Among the poets hailing from Madurai the most important and celebrated names are those of Madurai Kanakkayanār and his son Nakkirar, Irayanār, Śittalai Sātanār, Kūlavāṅgun Sāttanār, Māṅḷḍi Marudanār and Marudan Iṇaṅganār. The chief among the poets of the Pāṇḍya country were Kpilar, Piṣṭāṇḍaiyār and Vellivīḍiyār.

Maduraikkankkayanār : He was the father of the great poet Nakkirar and the grand father of Kīran Keraṇnār. He has composed

1. Māṅḷḍi Marudan, Marudan Iṇaṅgan, Madurai, Marudankiḷār Maṅṇar Śōkuttanār, Madurai Marudankiḷār Maṅṇar Perunkaṇṇanār. Madurai Marudankiḷār Maṅṇar Iṇam Pōṇan, Kūḷamangalan Kiḷār, Kūḷamangalan Kiḷār Śōkuvāṇār, Podumbiḷ Kiḷār Podumbiḷ Kiḷār Maṅṇar, Venkaṇṇār, Maruṅḡṇiḷār Perunkaṇṇanār, Podumbiḷ Kiḷār Venkaṇṇanār,

2. Madurai Aṅuvai Vāṇṅun Iṇavēṭṭanār,

3. Madurai Ōḷakkāḍai Kaṇṇampugudacāvananār; Madurai Ōḷakkāḍai yattār Naircāvanār

4. Maduraikkollan Vēṇṇāṅganār, Taṅḡal Poṅkollan Vēṇṇāṅganār

5. Viṭṭuṭṭu Vāṇakkun Tattanār.

6. Maduraikkolan Pōḷan, Maduraiṇṇan Kollan.

7. Maduraiṇṇaḍavāṅḡun Iṇandevanār, Maduraikkūlavāṅḡun Sāttanār.

8. Maduraikkūttanār, Maduraikkūṭavaiyāṅḡanār, Madurantam Iakkūttanār, Madurantumilakkūtan Nāṅan Dēvanār, Vēmbāṅḡūrk Kaṇṇan Kūṭanār, Kaḍavan Iṇamḷanār

9. Bhūṭappāṇḍyan Dēv. Perungōppendū, Maduraikkāṇmakkaṇ Nappaśalaiyār, Nalveḷḷiyar A, ūr Nanmūḷaiyār, Oḷkūr Māśāṇiyār, Podumbiḷ Pūḷāḷunkaṇṇiyār, Māṅḷāḷkūṭi Nappaśalaiyār, Vellivīḍiyār

five poems in *Agam*, *Narttmai* and *Paṭṭam*. He has sung about Paṭumput Pāṇḍyan as well as the Cera and the Cōḷa in *Agam* 338. Kaṇakkāyan means "teacher". From *Kuṟuntogai* 304 where the poet's name is given as Kaṇakkāyan Tattanār, his name appears to be Tattan. In one of his poems he states that elephants from Venkatam hills were brought as tribute to the Pāṇḍya king¹ and that Korṅkai was famed for its pearls².

Nakkirar: One of the most pre-eminent and erudite of the celebrities who belonged to the so-called third Sangam at Madurai was Nakkirar. Tradition says that he was the head of the third Sangam. But from the poem of the victor of Talaiyālangānam³ it is learnt that the leading poet of his court was Māṅgudi Maruḍan. Considering that this poem was composed just before the battle of Talaiyālangānam which was fought when the king was yet a mere youth, one may not be far wrong if it is assumed that Māṅgudi Maruḍan was the leading poet in the earlier years of the king's reign and that after his death Nakkirar might have taken his place in the later years of the king's reign.

Nakkirar has written about 37 poems among the Sangam works. In the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* or the Ten Idylls he is the author of *Tirumugāy-
ruppōḍai*⁴ and *Neṇṇimalōḍai*. The *Neṇṇimalōḍai* was sung in honour of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. The poem gives graphic descriptions of the country and the people in the rainy season. His description of the Pāṇḍya palace in the evening in the rainy season is very picturesque and his reference to the queen who is feeling lonely while the king is away at the front busy inspecting his troops and arms unmindful of the inclement weather at dead of night is very vivid. The *Tirumugāy-
ruppōḍai* is a guide to the characteres of God Muruga. Nakkirar describes the six places sacred to Muruga viz. Tirupparankunṇam, Tiruccirālāvē (Tiruccendūr), Tiruvāvinankuḍi (Palani), Tiruvēraham, Kuṇṇurōrāḍai and Palamadur-
śōlai (Tirumāyēnjōlai).

1. *Agam* 27.

2. *Narttmai* 23.

3. *Paṭṭam* 72.

4. Some scholars hold that this poem was composed by a later poet Nakkirar who lived in about 850 A.D., S. Varyaputti Pillai, *Itāṅkya Dīpaṃ*, p. 13 ff.

Like his father, Nakkīrar has also praised the three kings of the Tamil country in a poem¹. He has sung about Paṣumpuṭ Pāṇḍyan as well as the two Pāṇḍyas who were his contemporaries viz., the victor of Talaivālangānam and Pavandigaippallituṇḍiya Nanmāraṇ. The battle of Talaivālangānam has been described in detail by the poet.² In his poems a number of chiefs and chieftains are mentioned.³ He also praises the poet Kapilar in an *Agam* ode⁴. He compares Pavandigaippallituṇḍiya Nanmāraṇ and his qualities to the different gods like Śiva, Baladeva, Vāṇa, Maruga, Yama and so on.⁵ One finds that it was the fashion for many of the poets of Nakkīrar's generation to compare their royal patrons and their qualities to the gods⁶. This is probably an indication of the transition from the simple to close to Nature led during the early Saṅgam period to the life full of religious fervour led by the Purāṇas from about the 4th-5th a. A.D. onwards.

Nakkīrar's poems contain a fund of information about the topography and the economic and social conditions of his times. One of the earliest references to the term *Tamilagam* is found in Nakkīrar's poems.⁷ He says that Kūṇḍal (Madurai) was a city full of mansions.⁸ He refers to the Vagai and the Tirumanaṇṭuṇṇai.⁹ Marungai or Maruṅgūr which he mentions was also a flourishing town in the Pāṇḍya country.¹⁰

1. Maduraikkazhakkīyanār, *Agam* 338; Nakkīrar, *Agam* 93.

2. *Agam* 36.

3. Nakkīrar refers to Paṇḍyan Māraṇ (*Agam* 340), Pāri of Parambu (*Agam* 78), Vāṇan of Narakudi (*Narrinai* 340), Tuṇḍian of Cūṇr (*Agam* 227), Evvi of Vaip-pur (*Agam* 12), the Vadugar chieftain Iruman (*Agam* 253), Maṇḍan of Vēraṇbi (*Agam* 249) and Tiruvayan of Pavattura (*Agam* 340).

4. *Agam* 78.

5. *Puram* 56.

6. Maruḍan Paṇḍagan, *Puram* 55, Kāviriṇṇampalluṇḍi Kaṇikkannanāṇ, *Puram* 37, 58.

7. *Agam* 227.

8. Tirumunḍarrappadaḍai, ll. 70-71, *Agam* 346.

9. *Agam* 36.

10. *Narrinai* 358; *Agam* 227.

Nakkīrar gives graphic pen sketches of the life of the *Paradavar* and *Pānar* and *Ulaavar*.¹ His description of the *Kārttigai* festival is very interesting.² He says that during the *Kārttigai* ceremony in the month of *Kārttigai* it was the custom for the new daughter-in-law of the house to boil in milk beaten rice from the new *kāi* harvest and to offer it to God. The houses and its roofs were lit up with lamps to celebrate the festival.

The poet refers to the *Vadaavar* and *Taravar*.³ The white stone brought by the *Vadaavar* from the north was used for grinding the paste from sandalwood brought from the Western mountains i.e., *Podiyūl*.⁴ A statue (*oḍukkuppāṇi*) of Yavana workmanship is also mentioned.⁵

Astronomical phenomena are referred to by Nakkīrar. He says that *en kuḷamā* and *iḷi* were different kinds of meteors and that if they appear and blaze away in the heavens they bring drought, famine and misfortune to the world.⁶

In a famous *Puṭam* poem he seems to reflect modern socialistic ideas when he says that the quantity of food and clothing are the same for everybody, viz., "*unbadu nāḷi udappuṇaṇṇaṇḍē*".⁷

Madurai Marudam Hāṇḍgar. He was the son of Māṇḍi Marudan, the celebrated court poet of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. Since his father was called Māṇḍi Kilār *Irāṇagan* was perhaps a Vellāṇa. He belongs to the generation immediately following the time of the victor of Talaiyālangānam. In his poems there are many references to gods, mythological legends and sacred places. For instance he mentions Śiva's Tripura Sannāra,⁸ the story of Kṛṣṇa hiding the clothes of the Yādava (*Andar*) women on the banks of

1. *Agam* 340, 346 and *Parim* 395 respectively.

2. *Agam* 141.

3. *Parim* 56.

4. *Agam* 340.

5. *Nēdunnalḥḍai*, II. 101-102.

6. *Parim*, 395.

7. *Parim*, 189.

8. *Parim* 55.

the Tolunai (Yamuna)¹ Paraśurāma's performance of a sacrifice at Seilūr² and Muruga's abode at Śendil (Tiruchendūr)³.

His poems throw much light on the customs and manners of the period. He mentions the *kuravaikkāttu* danced by women around a clay image set up in the drinking water stage of the rivers⁴. He refers to the custom of worshipping hero stones or memorial stones, i.e., *maḍukal* raised in memory of warriors who were killed in action while rescuing cattle and so on⁵. Interesting details about the life of the Tamils could be gathered from many of his poems. For instance the mode of taking oaths, palmyra leaf umbrellas, camels and creaking wooden carts carrying merchandise, washerwomen starching clothes, old men gambling and honey-gathering *vēḍar*⁶ are all mentioned.

Kapilar: Of the poets hailing from the Pāṇḍya country the most outstanding was Kapilar who has written more than 235 poems the highest individual total among the Śaṅgam poets. He was a Brahman⁷ born in Tiruvāḍavūr. He was an expert in singing about the *kurup* line. He has sung the *Kuruppaṭṭu* and the *Paluppaṭṭu* collections the *kurup* poems in the *Kaṭṭiṭṭu* and the third one hundred poems about the *kurup* in the *Angurimōḍu*. The *Kuruppaṭṭu*, it is believed, was sung by the poet to show the greatness of Tamil to the Ārya King Brihadratha. Kapilar has sung about Pāri⁸ as well as other chieftains like Karu Ōri, Evi Nāḷ and Pēkan⁹.

Kapilar's birth place, Tiruvāḍavūr, is situated in the division known in ancient times as Tenparambunāḍu. Parambunāḍu was the stronghold of the chieftain Pāc whose name was a byword for bravery. The poet states that there were 300 villages in Pāri's Parambunāḍu. Kapilar was a great friend of Pāri and helped him

1. *Agam*, 59.

2. *Agam*, 220.

3. *Puram*, 55.

4. *Agam*, 269.

5. *Agam*, 131, 269, 343.

6. *Agam* 77, 121, 245, 343, 387, *Puram* 57 and *Agam* 368 respectively.

7. See *Puram* 125, 200 and 201.

8. *Puram* 106-111, 113-120 and others.

9. *Puram* 347, *Puram* 121-124, *Narrinai* 320, *Puram* 202, *Agam* 238, and *Puram* 143 respectively.

very much when his mountain stronghold was besieged by the three Tamil monarchs. After Pāri's death Kapilar is said to have protected his daughters and arranged for their marriage to the Malaiyamān chief of Tirukōyilūr. Kapilar seems to have been a poets' poet. Nakkīrar¹, Perunkūrūr Kīṭār², Nappaṣālayār³, and Auvai-vār⁴ speak in glowing terms about him. The names of Kapilar and Paragar often occur side by side in Tamil literature. Both poets seem to have been great friends.

Kapilar's poems exhibit a characteristic eloquence and beauty as, for instance, when he makes an apt comparison between white herons and white clad infantry.⁵

5. RELIGION IN THE SANGAM AGE

The religious life of the Tamils in the Malaya country during the Sangam Age seems to have been a complex of the simple worship of the gods of the five *tanais* or natural regions in the various *rajas*, sacrifices and ceremonies of the Vedic religion. The worship of primitive gods with offerings of rice, slaughtered animals and honey went on side by side with the performance of elaborate Vedic sacrifices. The various gods of the five *tanais* seem to have later merged with the Vedic gods. For instance the Māyon of the *mūttar* or woodland region seems to have later become identified with Viṣṇu.

The Pāṇḍya kings were great patrons of the Vedic fire, the Brahmans and the Vedic religion. They helped the performance of many Vedic sacrifices and gave gifts of villages to Brahmans for this purpose. It is stated that long before the citizens stirred from their sleep, Brahmans could be heard chanting the Vedas early in the morning in the Madurai city⁶. Brahmans devoted their time to Vedic studies and religious duties and held a high and honoured position in society. There is mention of religious disputes and

1. *Agam* 78.

2. *Paṭirupattu* 85.

3. *Paran* 174.

4. *Agam* 303.

5. *Narrinai* 291.

6. *Māduvikkana* II. 65+ 56.

discussions also¹. Men and women visited the temples in the evenings and offered worship. Many festivals were celebrated.

Along with Muruga and Korravaḥ, who may probably represent indigenous deities, many other gods of the Hindu pantheon such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Balarāma and Indra were also worshipped. A large number of mythological legends like the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and the exploits of Muruga were also widely known.

Primitive Surroundings—The worship of the *kandu* or *kandaḷi* or the pillar was perhaps a survival from primitive times. The commentator Naccamarkkaniyār² explains *kandaḷi* as “the principle beyond all manifested ones which stands alone without form and without attachment”. If this explanation is correct the *kandaḷi* would represent the Impersonal. There are many references to the “*kandudaiḥ poduvil*”³. This indicates that the *kandu* or pillar was often erected in a *poduvil* or public place or perhaps the village common for purposes of worship. One poem refers to the old god in the village *mayam*⁴. Trees as well as gods under trees were also worshipped⁵. The rice offered to the household gods was scattered in the courtyard *muttam*, and was eaten by the crows⁶.

The worship of stones or *naḍukals* erected in memory of warriors who fought bravely and fell in action while fighting or rescuing cattle, appears to have been a very ancient custom. The name and the exploits of the dead hero were written on the stone⁷. The stone was washed and smeared with turmeric paste and decorated with flowers for worship⁸. The stone was adorned with peacock feathers and a spear was kept in front of it⁹. Maṇḍiḥ Maruṇṇār¹⁰ says

1. Ibid II. 423-26.

2. At the end of the commentary on *Tirumirugāruppadai*.

3. *Agam* 307; *Param* 52.

4. *Narrinai* 503.

5. *Varcuvai* 916. The god under the eṇṇagai tree.

6. *Narrinai* 258.

7. *Agam* 343, 341, 174, 397, 343. *Agam* 343 says that the letters were engraved by means of a sharp *uḷi*.

8. *Agam* c. 264.

9. *Agam*, 131.

10. *Param*, 335.

that there is only one god worthy of being worshipped by having paddy strewn before him, namely, the hero-stone of the warrior who fell in battle. This also shows the great antiquity of the worship of hero-stones.

Festivals. The Tamils were very fond of festivals and festivities and one hears of many festivals celebrated in Madurai and the Madurai country. There were frequent festivals accompanied by music and religious dances in honour of Muruga. Even to this day Madurai is a city famed for its festivals. Nearly 300 days in the year are festival days. The city seems to have been equally well known for its festivals even during the Sangam Age. One poet says that festivals occurred ceaselessly in Madurai¹. The *Madurakkūci* mentions the *vēḷ* in Tirupparankannam². This poem also says that the seven day festival³, and the evening festivals⁴ were celebrated in the Madurai, city. The poem mentions the *onam* festival on the day of Ōṇam, the asceticism of Viṣṇu and Nannan's birthday festival. It is not known whether these took place in the city or elsewhere. The *Kārttiṅgai* festival was celebrated on the day of *Kārttiṅgai* asterism in the month of *Kārttiṅgai* with the lighting of many lamps⁵ and offerings of beaten rice prepared from the new harvested *tār* paddy and boiled in milk⁶. In the month of *Tai* women and young girls bathed in the river⁷ in the early morning and offered prayers to God. This was called *Tai nīṇṇūl*⁸.

While there are numerous references to gods, festivals and worship there are not many direct references to temples. From the fact that the drums sounded announcing the beginning of festivals⁹ and that many flags were hoisted in the streets of Madurai in honour

1. Agam 116 13-14.

2. Lines 262-64; Agam 149.

3. Lines 427-28.

4. Line 460.

5. Nannan 202. 9. The poet compares the lamps to the numerous blossoms of *kongum* flowers.

6. Agam, 141.

7. Agam, 269.

8. *Madurakkūci* ll. 561-62.

of the festivals in the temples¹ and again that the gods went in procession through the streets of Madurai, in the evening one has to infer that there were many temples in the city. There were religious houses² of *vaidika* and *śaivika* sects in the city of Madurai. Till about the 5th c. A.D. the different religions flourished side by side. Harmony and tolerance characterised religious life in the Madurai country.

6. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS—TRADE AND COMMERCE

South India had had trade relations with the West from very early times. The finds of Indian teak in the ruins of Ur, the ancient Sumerian capital, the Babylonian use of the term *śudha* for *mishra* and *śun* for other evidences are a proof of the very early and extensive contacts South India had with Sumeria, Babylon, Arabia and Egypt. Foreign trade by land and sea was flourishing. Later on Greece and Rome began to have direct contacts with South India.

In the first and second centuries A.D. many references to Madurai and the Pandyan Kingdom are found in the works of Greek and Roman writers. From the time of Emperor Augustus there was great development in South India's trade with Rome. This was due not only to the consolidation of Roman power in Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between the East and the West, and the increase of Roman influence at Palmyra, but also to Hippalus' discovery of the west wind of the monsoon. Thus, sailing routes between South India and the West became regularised and the duration of voyages speeded up. In the time of Claudius (41-54 A.D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea region was overcome by the Romans and trade with South India was developed. From now on references to South India, her towns, ports and articles of export are very frequent in the works of the classical authors. It is interesting to note that in the obverse half of the Roman coins to be seen in India date from the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Strabo (c. 25 B.C.) says that during the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus Pandya king sent an embassy to Rome.³ Madurai and King

1. Ibid I, 366.

2. *Maduraikkavai* II, 461-68.

3. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 2, para 4, pp. 77-78, para 79.

MADURAI IN THE SANGAM AGE

Pandion were known to Ptolemy (c. A.D. 75). He states that "the world-famed Hippodamus is believed to have discovered the nearest mart of India, can be reached in forty days."

At the time I was writing this conclusion it was the sovereign of that country. A more exact location of the nation is Nativka² which is called Bear. There Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the land, and now in the interior of the country called Madura. Near the coast, one of its ports and cities is Kottayam, a bay of land, a river flows from which empties out into the sea, and the waves are coming."³

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. A.D. 75)⁴ also states that Madura is Nativka, a very important port, and that Nativka belonged to a king, queen of Parthar who ruled from 100-120. Ptolemy (A.D. 30) shows a greater knowledge of the ports and inland cities of South India. He says that Melkhynda and Kanama, a cape and town, were in the country of the Ao. He mentions the Kodkan gulf where there was the pearl fishery and Kol-kho⁵, an export in Saurat, a mart is included in the land of Parthar.⁶ This is probably Śālavūr, the town named after the paddy and mentioned in the *Maduraikkāṇī*.⁷ Ptolemy refers not only to Madura, the royal city of the Pandion⁸ but also to many inland towns in the Pāṇḍya country such as Tainour.⁹ Thus by the time of Ptolemy Roman contacts with South India had developed to a wide extent.

1. This was Madurai, modern Cratigatore, one of the important Cera ports on the west coast.

2. An ancient port very near Kottayam.

3. J. W. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12.

4. Schöff, the editor of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, says that the date of the *Periplus* may be taken to be about 60 A.D.

5. Schöff, *ibid.*, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para. 53, pp. 55.

6. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 57, para. 10.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 59, para. 1.

8. *Maduraikkāṇī*, ll. 117-8.

9. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 113, para. 89.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 113. Tainour is probably Tenur in Nilakkottai taluk, Madurai district, which is frequently mentioned in Sangam works as a flourishing town.

Regarding the nature of the trade between South India and the West there is the valuable testimony of the author of the *Periplus*. After mentioning the ports on the west coast, such as Muziris and Nelcynda, he says, "They send large ships to these market-towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabarum (to be had there). There are exported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coins (upaz) then cotton, ginger, nutmeg, figs and flowers, antimony, coral, emerald glass, copper, tin, lead, wine, honey, oil, as much as at Barygaza, resins and ornaments, and various things for the sailors; for this is the great mart by the merchants here. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity only on the coast of these markets, a district called Cotinara. Besides this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, sapphires, imported from the Ganges, malabarum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and a cris-shell that from Chryse Island, and coral taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica."¹ The above list clearly indicates the preponderance of spices and articles of luxury among the exports to the Western countries.

Large quantities of pepper were imported by Rome from South India. The use of pepper became so popular among the Romans that it came to be known in Sanskrit as *yoonaapriya* ('dear to the Romans'). It is said that when Alaric attacked Rome in 408 A.D., he demanded as part of the ransom 3000 pounds of pepper.² Again, Pliny refers to the enormous quantities of spices used at the funeral of Poppaea, Nero's favourite.³ The *Periplus* says that "larger ships" were now needed for the cinnamon trade.

Madura and Ujjayini were the chief marts from whence pearl was exported to Rome. The important pearl fisheries in the Pāṇḍya country were at Kaṅka to which both *Periplus* and *Ptolemy*⁴ refer. The fisheries were worked by condemned criminals.

1. Seeff. Ed. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para. 36.

2. J. R. A. S., 1904, p. 600.

3. *Natural History*, XII, 41.

4. J. W. McCrindle. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 57, para. 10.

5. Seeff. Ed. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para. 59.

Pearls became so fashionable with the Roman ladies that moralists began lamenting the wearing of pearls by ladies. The trade in gems and pearls grew to such enormous proportion and led to such an adverse balance of trade for Rome that complaints arose about the drain of Roman gold. In 22 B.C. Emperor Tiberius wrote to the Roman Senate complaining that the rage for jewels and precious trinkets on the part of the Roman ladies was draining the empire of its wealth viz. gold.¹ In the time of Claudius and Nero also the import of luxuries continued unabated so that Pliny is found complaining in 70 A.D. that India drained Roman gold to the value of nearly a million pounds a year 'giving back her own wares which are sold among us at ten or a hundred times their cost'.² Since the chief imports of the Tamil country were gold and silver Roman coins and wine, Pliny was probably justified in his complaint. Pliny's statement is corroborated by the Chinese annals which tell us that the Parthians and Indians used to derive three hundred-fold profit from their maritime trade with the Roman Empire.³ While the trade was highly profitable to Madurai and the Tamil countries, the balance of trade was so adverse to Rome that the Indian trade seriously affected the coinage of Rome. Schoff says that this extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency.⁴

The impressively abundant Roman coinage found along the breadth of Tamil India from the Malabar to the East coast states as a silent testimony to the importance of South Indian trade with the West in the 1st c. A.D. Twenty-nine finds of coins, discovered through Madras State and the States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Cochin, Pudukkottai and Travancore, include among them the *Aurei* or *denari* dating from Augustus to Trajan.⁵

1. Tacitus: *Annals* II, 33.

2. *History of China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 42-43.

3. Schoff: *East-India of the Mediterranean Sea*, p. 219.

4. *Ancient India*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19, gives a list of the Roman coins of the 1st c. B.C. to 1st c. A.D. found in the Madras presidency. The following is the list pertaining to Madras and Travancore districts.

There have been some doubts as to what use these foreign coins were put to in the Tamil country. Firstly it is to be noted that, of the 19 hoard-stuff finds, at least 20 are known to have been found ranging anywhere from four or five coins to twenty or more. Secondly, these 1st-century coins are invariably of gold or silver. There is no authentic discovery of a Roman 'brass' coin of the 1st or 2nd century. Lastly, the coins of Augustus or Tiberius are preponderant. Also, the coins have the marks of having been used for exchange rather than for suspension of payment by a debtor. Only one coin has been found in the Roman silver coin hoard which has been dated. Finally, there is a considerable gap in the early coinage between India from the Western to the Eastern coast. Regarding the imports into the port of Madras by Nelekyda the *Periplus* says "it is a profitable thing here in the first place, a great quantity of gold".¹ Among the imports to Baragaza the same work mentions "gold and silver coin of which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country".² These statements together with the fact that the bulk of the coins have been found in hoards indicate that the coins were mostly used as bullion and not as currency. Probably they were

(contd.)

(1) Kalivampottur, Madurai district, near boundary of Madurai and Coimbatore dated 63 gold coins in a pot Augustus-Nerva (d. A.D. 98), *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, XVII, 1856-7, p. 4 and XIX, 1857-58, p. 15-6.

(2) Madurai town, Roman gold coins ending with Nero, dated A.D. 61-2. *Madras Mus. A. Rep.*, 1917, pp. 4, 5, 8.

(3) Madurai town. Stray finds of copper coins, including Honorius and Arcadius (c. A.D. 400). R. Sewell, *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, I (1882), 291.

(4) Madurai district. Hoard of Damocian dated A.D. 261. *Madras Coast Mus. Cat. Coins*, No. 2 (1894), p. 29.

(5) Karuvamandayam or Sankaran Koyal Tk. Tanjore district Six aurei (found). Hoard of A.D. 100. *Madras Mus. A. Rep.*, 1933, p. 5.

1. M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 149.

2. Schoff, *ed.*, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para. 56.

3. *Ibid.* para. 49.

of Yavana workmanship¹, and the dumb *mūccas*² who roamed the streets. The *Periplus* while speaking of the imports into the market towns of the west coast of the Tamil country, says "There are imported here . . . wheat enough for the sailors for this is not dealt in by the merchants there"³. This also shows clearly that there were a large number of Roman sailors in the Tamil country. Recent Archaeological discoveries at Ankanmedu⁴ near Pondicherry have brought to light the presence of an Indo-Roman trading station of the 1st c. A.D. probably the Poduke⁵ of the *Periplus*. Hence the presence of a Roman colony at Madurai or its environs may not be far too improbable.

The flourishing foreign trade led to the growth of many harbours in the Pāṇḍya country such as Kāṇka, famed for its pearls and Śāṭiyūr⁶ where large ships with flags flying on their tall masts came with various foreign goods. Marudan Nanagan refers to light houses⁷ on the shore for the guidance of the big ships at sea. Nakkirar refers to the ships which brought different articles of merchandise from various foreign countries⁸. Horses were also brought by ships to the Pāṇḍyan shores.⁹

Besides the flourishing foreign trade carried on which the East and the West, internal trade during the Sangam Age in the Pāṇḍya country was also well organised and briskly carried on. Merchants travelled from one place to another, carrying their goods in carts

1. *Vidumukōḍai*, II 101-102. *Perumpāṇṇruppāḍi*, II 316-17. In works belonging to a slightly later period there are further references to the Yavanas. The *Manimekalai* mentions the Yavannattar (xix cl. 107-109). The *Peruvēlai* refers to Yavana lamps (i, 47-174; 5 ornaments v. 37-76; rings (ii. 16-72-3, chest III, 22-213) and carts i. at 101-94 mentions Yavana defence mechanisms. *Suappōḍikaram* 5, 10 and *Peruvēlai* iii, 4-8 refer to Yavana quarters.

2. *Vidumukōḍai*, II 31-35. *Mūlappāḍi*, II 61-6.

3. Schoff Ed. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, para 56.

4. *Ancient India* No. 2, p. 17, ff.

5. Poduke may perhaps be equated with Puducceri or "new town".

6. *Madurakkāṇṇi*, II 75-88.

7. *Agam* 235.

8. *Narriṇi* 31.

9. *Madurakkāṇṇi*, II 322-23.

and on the back of pack-animals. Salt which was produced in abundance in the salt-pans of the East Coast, was an important article of trade. There are many references to the salt produced in the salt-pans and the sellers of salt¹. The *Maduraiikkāṇi* says that the workers in the *āḷams* or salt pans lived in small huts but earned on a big and important industry². Maduvellilai was a great salt producing centre³. Big ships fully laden with salt, tamarind, salted dried fish carried them to other places⁴. The dealers in salt were known as *ummai*. They carried their heavy loads of salt in wooden carts⁵ or on the back of asses.⁶ A king is compared to the strong bull which drags out of the ruts and holes of the road the heavy salt laden cart proceeding from the eastern shores to the hill country in the west⁷. The strings of salt-laden carts always attracted the interest of the youngsters. *Kapilar* refers to the little girls who keep counting the carts of the salt vendors⁸. The *Śaṭṭanai* or traders also used the long legged camel⁹ as a beast of burden when crossing the arid waste lands with their merchandise. The rice, cotton and cloth produced in the valleys had also to be taken to other regions for sale. There was trade by barter to a great extent. For instance, the pearl oysters fished at Korkai were exchanged for toddy¹⁰. Various types of gold coins seem to have been in use¹¹. One poet compares the neem fruit in the mouth of the parrot to the bright round gold coin newly made by the gold smith¹². Gold coins were strung and used as a waist ornament also¹³.

1. *Maduraiikkāṇi* ll. 117, 318.

2. *Ibid* 117-22.

3. *Ibid*, ll. 117-22.

4. *Ibid* l. 318-22.

5. *Agam*, 343.

6. *Agam*, 207, 343.

7. *Purāṇa*, 55: 6-9.

8. *Purāṇa*, 116.

9. *Agam*, 245.

10. *Agam*, 296.

11. *Agam*, 363. "Polai cci kāsai".

12. *Kuruntogai* 67.

13. *Agam*, 269. 15.

pūṇṇaḥ¹. Thus Jainism and Buddhism seem to have attained a position of prominence in the Tamil land at about this time. Buddhiśāstra from Uḡayūr was a great Pāṇi writer who had composed many Buddhist works. He appears to have lived in the last quarter of the 1st century and to have been the elder contemporary of Buddhaghoṣa. He mentions as his contemporary a king named Accuta Vakkata² whose reign Buddhist monks and authors enjoyed much patronage in the Cōla country. The king was probably a Buddhist himself. In the closing passage of the *Vaṅṇavāṇṇa* Buddiśāstra was a savaḥṇa who wrote a *śāstra* on *śāstra* during the reign of the brahmins Accuta Vakkata and the Kaṭṭakula³.

In Tamil literature there is mention of ancient Kalappa king and a Kalappa king existing till comparatively recent times. There is also a place Kalappa in the Tamil country. Accuta Kaṭṭapaṇi was the father of Maṅṅajasevar who lived in the 13th century and was a Hindu and not a Hindu Tamil Śaivism. Late a very tradition in Tamil says that once Accuta Kaṭṭapaṇi kept in confinement a Tamil king, the Cōla the Cōla king the Pāṇḍya⁴. One Naṅṅaṅgaṇ Kīṭāṇ, Kalappaṇi Rājā is also mentioned in an inscription⁵. Nambī Aṇḍar Nambī in his *Tamilvāṇṇa* Tamilvāṇṇa called Kaṭṭapaṇi Nāvarar a Kalappaṇi. The similarity of the name with some scholars think that Accuta Kaṭṭapaṇi Buddhist king and the same as Accuta Kaṭṭapaṇi. The Tamil *Vāṇṇa* *śāstra* and the Kaṭṭapaṇi was a Tamil king of the Kaṭṭapaṇi. But available evidence seem to point to the Kaṭṭapaṇi people foreign to South India.

The evidence of the *Mahāvāṇṇa* also corroborates the fact that there was political disorder in the Madurai country. It says that about A.D. 496 a Tamil named Paṇḍya landed in Coimbatore king Maṅṅaṇa and usurped the throne. Surrounded by Iamas

1. *Manimekalai* VII. 113-114.
2. *Vaṅṇavāṇṇa* st. 3168-3179.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Tamil Nāḍiṇi Carita* - Stanzas 154-55.
5. *Saṅgama* - v. 12, p. 268.

he and several successors ruled Ceylon for over twenty years. In about A.D. 517 or 523 Dattakēna, the Ceylonese king, succeeded in expelling the Pāṇḍya usurpers from Ceylon. He exterminated the Tamils in his island.¹

Of the Tamil usurpers on the island of Ceylon at this time as many as five names are mentioned, viz., Pāṇḍu (496 A.D.), Parinda (501 A.D.), Dhudava Parinda (502 A.D.), Tintara (520 A.D.), Dattakēna (520 A.D.) and Palaya (523 A.D.).²

It was probably during the Kalabhra interregnum in the Madurai country that Mūrtināyanār³ ruled over Madurai. A Karuṇāṭṭa king who was an *amanā*⁴ defeated and expelled the Pāṇḍyas and ruled from Madurai. Mūrtināyanār was a *raṇiga* of Madurai and a devotee of Śiva. It was his custom to supply sandalwood paste every day to the Madurai Temple for the God's worship. Under the rule of the alien king he suffered many hardships since he was persecuted and prevented from getting supplies of sandalwood for the worship of his favourite deity. Finally after the sudden death of the Karuṇāṭṭa King Madurai was without a ruler. Mūrtināyanār was chosen king by an elephant which was let loose for the purpose of choosing a ruler. Mūrtināyanār tried to put down the *śaivāṭṭa* religions and restore Śaivism.

The founding of the Jaina Sangam in Madurai in 470 A.D., the Pāṇḍya usurpation of the Singalese throne between about 496 and 523 A.D. and the story of Mūrtināyanār clearly point to the upsetting of the political order in Madurai in about the 5th century A.D. Probably during the Kalabhra interregnum Pāṇḍya Kings and princes took refuge in Ceylon and ruled over the island waiting for a suitable opportunity when they could come back and recover Madurai.

1. *Mahāvaṃsa* chap. 38.

2. R. Sewell and Dr. S.K. Ivengar, *The Historical Inscriptions of South India* p. 330.

3. *The Kallidāsa* 57, Perumparrappulvār Nambī's *Tirucolaiyōḍai*, No. 51 and the *Perya Purāṇam*, No. 15. Murti 11, 12, narrate the story of Mūrtināyanār.

4. *The Kallidāsa* says he was an *Araṇa*. The *Peryapurāṇam* says he was a *Vadā gakarunata* and a *raṇiga*.

Epigraphic evidences show that the Kalabhras were a source of danger to many of the South Indian dynasties. The Velvikkudi grant of the Pāṇḍya Neduṇjaḍaman roundly denounces the Kalabhras as evil kings *kali arasar*, who uprooted many *adhivāsi* and abrogated *Brahmaṇḍa* rights¹. It says 'Then a kali king named Kalabhran took possession of the extensive earth driving away numerous, great king *adhivāsi*'. It also refers to the Kalabhras and their brave ocean-like army.² Mr. Krishna Sastri is inclined to the view that *kali* (*kali kula*), was the name of a dynasty of kings.

From about the 6th century A.D. the Kalabhras seem to have been overthrown by the various South Indian dynasties. In A.D. 575 the Pallava Simhaviśnu³ and the Pāṇḍya king Kaṭṭiyeṇ⁴ defeated the Kalabhras. Varasimha Varman I (c. 630-668), the Palava, again defeated them⁵. Of the Cālukyas Vinayaditya (681-96 A.D.), Vikramāditya II (734-45 A.D.) and Kirtivarman II (744-53 A.D.) are said to have defeated the Kalabhras⁶ and Pulakesin II (610-42 A.D.) is credited with the defeat of the Kākudā⁷. The *Periyeṇḍānam* says that Kaṭṭipattavār⁸ who was engaged to Appar's sister went to fight against the Northerners who had invaded the Tamil region. Appar was a contemporary of Mahēndra Varman I (600-630 A.D.). From the available evidences the Kalabhras seem to have been terrible and ruthless conquerors who were regarded as interlopers by the people of the lands they overran.

There has been much controversy over the identification of the Kalabhras who have been variously held to be the Karmāṭaka,

1. Velvikkudi grant II. 39-40.

2. Ibid II. 111-112, E.I. Vol. 17, p. 306 n. 2; Contra Hultzsch in E.I. Vol. 18, p. 21b where he translates *Kakula* into the people of Kaniyā.

3. Kumbhūdi plates, S. I.L., Vol. 11, p. 956.

4. Velvikkudi grant II. 39-46.

5. Kūṭṭam plates, S.I.L., Vol. I, p. 144.

6. Harivar grant of Vinayaditya, Nertur grant of Vikramāditya II and Vakkaṭṭam grant II 36-52 I.A. Vol. VIII, p. 23 fL and E.I. Vol. V, p. 200 fL) respectively.

7. Koppāram plates, 11-8-9.

8. *Periyeṇḍānam*, No. 21 Tirumāvukkarāṇ.

The Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* may be roughly assigned to the 5th-6th century A.D. and is by far the most outstanding work of the Post Sangam epoch. It is said to have been written by Ilango-āḍigal, the brother of Seran Senguttuvan. It narrates the popular story of the merchant-prince Kovalan, who neglects his wife Kāṇakī and succumbs to the charms of Mādhavi the famous dancing girl of Pūār. A quarrel between the two and the loss of his fortune makes Kovalan return to Kāṇakī. Then the husband and wife journey to Madurai to sell Kāṇakī's jewels, especially her ankle (*śilappam*) and to start a new life. In Madurai Kovalan is executed owing to the treachery of the royal goldsmith who had stolen the Pāṇḍya Queen's anklet which was similar to Kāṇakī's. When Kāṇakī proved the innocence of Kovalan before the king the Pāṇḍya king repented his injustice and died on the spot. His queen also died immediately afterwards. Kāṇakī then burnt the city of Madurai and moved into the Cēra country where she ascended to heaven with Kovalan. Senguttuvan the Cēra king, brought a stone from the Himālayas, made an image of Kāṇakī and set up shrines to her as the Goddess of Chastity.

The *Maṇimēkalai* is a Buddhist poem which tells the life story of Maṇimēkalai, the daughter of Mādhavan Kovalan. Its author was Maduraiḷkū avāṇigan Śāṭanār, a cōra merchant. There has been some confusion between this poet and Śatalai Śattanaṛ, some holding that both were the same. Again, it is held that the authors of the two epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* were contemporaries and that they read out their works to each other. But an examination of the literary style of the two works shows that *Maṇimēkalai* may be more than a century later than the other epic. In its present form the *Maṇimēkalai* contains a long passage based on the *Ayōḍhyavivēka* of Dinnāga a work of the 5th century A.D. It is not clear whether this is an interpolation or not. One learns much about Buddhism in the Tamil country from *Maṇimēkalai*. The poem says that here was a temple to Citadevi, Saraswati, in the city of Madurai.¹

1. *Maṇimēkalai*, 14 : 10-11, 17-18.

3. General Considerations of the Post Sangam Age

From the Literary works of the Sangam age much interesting information may be gathered about the city of Madurai as well as life in the Madurai country. In the *Kaḷittogai*, there are many references to the Vaigai,¹ and Madurai. It is learnt that the Vaigai, started the rampart walls of the city.² The Tirumarudanmurai in the Vaigai is mentioned.³ There was a festival in the city during the early summer months, in honour of Kāma, the God of Love.⁴ Tiruparankumaram is mentioned as sacred to Muruga who felled the mango tree in the ocean, and also defeated Śūraṇ.⁵ Besides many references to *Kūḍu*⁶ and *Māḍakkūḍal*⁷, the earliest mention of the term *Nāumadākkūḍal*⁸ to denote the city of Madurai, is found in the *Kaḷittogai*.

The *Paripāḍal* also gives many interesting details about the city of Madurai and the life of the citizens. The landing stages in the Vaigai,⁹ the freshes in the river, the water sports in the Vaigai, and the many festivals celebrated are dealt with in great detail. It was the custom for the bathers to throw in the river, plaques of gold made in the shapes of chanks, crabs and fishes¹⁰ probably as offerings to the river goddess. The Pāṇḍya king also resorted to the Vaigai banks.¹¹ The Pāṇar on the banks of the river sang the *marudam paṇ*.¹² In the evening the citizens enjoying themselves on the banks of the Vaigai began moving southwards in order to return to the city.¹³ This shows that the Vaigai flowed to the north of the city.

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1. *Kaḷittogai* 27: 17-20, 30: 13-16, 35: 9-17, 92: 11-13; 98: 10-11, 98: 30-31.
 2. *Ibid.* 67: 4-5; 68: 4-5.
 3. *Ibid.* 26: 13.
 4. *Ibid.* 30: 13-16; 92: 63-68.
 5. *Ibid.* 27: 15-16, 93: 25-8.
 6. *Ibid.* 27: 12, 30: 11, 31: 24-5, 57: 8, 92: 11-13.
 7. *Ibid.* 85: 17.
 8. *Ibid.* 92: 65.
 9. *Paripāḍal* 7: 63, 11: 30, 22: 35.
 10. *Paripāḍal*, 10: 85-88.
 11. *Paripāḍal Tiruvu* 2: 69-72, 90-92.
 12. *Ibid.* 2: 3.
 13. *Paripāḍal* 10: 121.

Eight poems are in praise of Muruga and give many details about Tirupparankunram. In the mornings people crowded on the route from Madurai to Tirupparankunram taking with them food and articles for *pūja* to offer worship at the temple of Muruga at Tirupparankunram.¹ The Pāndya king with his queens and ministers visited Tirupparankunram, went up the hill, circumambulated the temple of Muruga and offered worship.² There was a *citra māṅḍapa*³ on the hill by the side of the temple. There were paintings here of Sūrya and other planets,⁴ of Rati and Manmata⁵ and of Akaligaṇ⁶ being cursed to become a stone.⁷

Six poems are devoted to the praise of Viṣṇu and the Tirumāl-irumjōla. Viṣṇu and Baladeva are said to have been worshipped on the Mālirunkunram.⁸

In the *Madurakkāṇḍam* of the *Śiṣṭapadikāram* there are graphic pen pictures of the city of Madurai. While the general picture is more or less similar to that given in the *Madura kkaṇḍa*, v. 2, a description of an ancient city which was well planned and built and well defended and was a busy metropolis, more details are added in the epic in highly poetic language.

The poet describes the route from Uṇaiyur to Madurai⁹. The distance from Uṇaiyur to Madurai was 30 *kādam*s. The route led through Koḷūmbāraṇ Padukkōṭṭa from where three alternative routes led to Madurai. The route on the right¹⁰ was along Kaṇamaa forests and jungles through the abodes of Tamaras and along the Śarumala hills. Another route along the left¹¹ went through fields and jungles to Tirumāl-kunram¹² and thence to Madurai. The route

1. Ibid. 8:90-111; 17:22-25; 19:8-18.

2. Ibid. 19:19-29.

3. 19:46-57; 18:27-29.

4. Ibid. 19:46-47.

5. Ibid. 19:48.

6. Ibid. 19:50-52.

7. Ibid. 15:49-53.

8. *Peribūdai* 15:49-53.

9. *Śiṣṭapadikāram* xi:68-149.

10. Ibid. xi:68-73.

11. Ibid. xi:87-140.

12. Tirumālirumjōla.

midway¹ between these led through villages and groves and on the way the traveller had to overcome the wrath of a fierce deity if he wished to reach Madurai.

The poet approaches the city from the Vaigai side and gives an elaborate description of the Vaigai. At the crowded landing stages were moored boats decorated with different prow heads of various animal forms². Immediately surrounding the city was a moat and beyond it an impenetrable forest. Lion flags of victory were flying on the outer walls of the fortress³. The fortress gates were well guarded by Yavana swordsmen⁴. A narrow passage (*śuranga*) connected the moat with the interior of the city. Above the passage there was a tree, large enough to admit groups of elephants⁵. On the battlements and ramparts of the city there were many mechanical contrivances for defence⁶.

The suburbs⁷ (*puṇājēn*) of the city were inhabited by men practising *dharma*, i.e., ascetics and other *śādhus*. There were many groves, parks and lakes here and rest houses and bamboo *pundals* for supplying water.

The city was a well-planned one with bazaars and many broad streets with high and luxurious mansions on both sides. There were the streets where wealthy ladies lived⁸. Accomplished dancers and musicians lived in two big streets⁹. Wealthy merchant princes dealing in gems, diamonds, pearls and gold lived in different streets¹⁰.

1. Canto xi: 141-149.

2. Canto xiii: 174-80.

3. Canto i: 1. 181-190.

4. Canto xiv: 66-67.

5. Canto xiv: 62-65.

6. Ibid. xv: 207-216. There were mechanisms to throw burning oil, molten metal and stones on the besiegers attempting to scale the walls. Various devices such as churning machines shined like monkeys, the king's fisher device which would pluck out the eyes of the enemy and other mechanisms in the shape of vultures and pigs. There were also mechanical bows with self-projecting arrows.

7. Canto xiii: 191-196.

8. Ibid. xiv: 120-145.

9. Ibid. xiv: 120-145.

10. Ibid. 180-204.

number of male companions and body guards as well as ladies who sang her praise¹. It is stated that the cowherdesses had to supply ghee to the palace every day by turns². This probably was some important kind of *śrādhā* ceremony of Madhavi's court.

In the morning the Brahmans chanted the *Vēdas* (hymns were beaten and conches blown from the various temples) and the king from the king's palace, a Brahmin, recited the *offering* and then proceeded singing the *dharma*³. There were temples to Śiva, Viṣṇu, and even to his mother, Vāg, with the Garuda standing before her who had the peacock and Maṇḍa with the duck flag⁴. A temple of Kṛṣṇa-Varāha and another of Nāgama⁵ on the banks of the Vagā are mentioned. The latter probably is reference to the Kūḍal Vagā temple which is identified with the shrine of Śaṭī Irāḥya, an *āṭar* or *Anda-vāṇa* (temple and⁶). Bhaṭṭa and Aśv are spoken of together⁷ showing the worship of Bhaṭṭa and Aśv during the *śrādhā* ceremony was common. There was also a temple to Bhairava in the city⁸. The royal guards were Kṛṣṇa, the officers were Vajra and the troops as well as the cowherdesses in honour of Kṛṣṇa showed the presence of an authority of the Kṛṣṇa cult⁹. Goddess Maṇḍa, it was the deity of the city of the Pāṇḍya kings¹⁰. When the city of Madhavi was captured by fire the goddess was the guardian deity of the city¹¹. This probably in answer to the goddess's aid in the capture of the city during the time given to the city was. The goddess was also described in great detail¹².

1. Canto vii: 13-23.

2. Canto xvii: 1-10.

3. Canto xiii: 135-150; xiv: 1-14; xv: 1-10.

4. Canto xiv: 7-10.

5. Ibid. 11: 1-7.

6. Ibid. 11: 1-7.

7. *Sentamāl*, Vol. VIII, p. 183.

8. Canto xvii: *Karupam*.

9. Canto xiv: 9.

10. Canto xiv: *Aṭṭiyarkuṇḍar*.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid. xii: *Vaṭṭuṇḍar*.

13. Canto xxii, *śrādhā*, xxiii: 1-20.

The *acciyarkunnai* danced by the cowherdesses¹ in honour of Viṣṇu and the *aṭṭumkari*² performed by hill tribes like the Maravar in honour of Korrava, are types of religious dances.

B THE FIRST PANDYAN EMPIRE

I. Political History

The four centuries (roughly 7th-10th c. A.D.) following the black-out during the Kaṭappa interregnum were marked by a rapid revival of Pāṇḍya supremacy and in this period a succession of powerful rulers of the dynasty waged battles against their rivals and expanded their domain into the Coḷa, Pallava and Kongu countries and into the Āy country in the Tinnevely-Travancore region.

For the history of this period which may be termed the First Empire one has to depend mostly on the Veluṅkuṭṭaḷ gran of Parāṇṭaka Neṇṇūjaḍaḷayan³, the Larger and Smaller Śiṃamānūr plates of Rājasinha II⁴, the Madras Museum Plates of Jātavarman⁵, the two related Āṇamalai stone inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaḷayan and Parāṇṭaka⁶ and the Āṇamalai inscription of Varaguṇa dated S.792 i.e., 870 A.D.⁷ Pallava and Coḷa inscriptions and copper plates as well as the account of *Mahāvamsa* also help to elucidate the history of the period. While the general outline of the genealogy and chronology of the period is more or less clear, there are many problems which are still unsettled. Hence dates could only be provisional and approximate⁸.

After the overthrow of the Kaṭabhras and the restoration of the Pāṇḍya dynasty by Kaḍaṅgōṇ (c. 590-620 A.D.) there were a number

1. *Canto xxi*: 1-15.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 16-108.

3. *E.I.* Vol. XXII p. 291 ff.

4. *S.L.I.* Vol. III, pt. iv, p. 144 ff.

5. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXII, p. 57 ff.

6. *M.E.R.* 453 and 454 of 1906.

7. *M.E.R.* 705 of 1905.

8. For this section the genealogical and chronological scheme suggested by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his works is mainly followed.

of Pāṇḍya rulers with the titles *Mārañjadāyan* and *Śaḍarvaṇṇāraṇ* alternating. Apart from what is given in the Tamil portion of the Velvikkuḍi grant little is known about Kadungōn and his son Māravarman. Avantiśūāman c. 620-45 A.D., Śēndan or Jayantavarman c. 643-70 A.D. succeeded his father Māravarman. The Velvikkuḍi grant calls him *Vēndarvēndan* and "*Śiḷa iṭṭaḍakkarkkūḷuk-kalīyruḷaḷ vīṇ*". Ś-ivan who possessed long hands holding the bow and various elephants",¹ His title *Vāmaṇa* seems to indicate some victory over the Cēras.

Śendan's successor, evidently his son², was Arikeṣari Parāṇkuṣa Māravarman c. 670-700 A.D. He was one of the greatest and most renowned of the rulers of this age. The Smaller Sinnamānūr plates call him Arikeṣari Maamasaman Alanghavarukraman Akālakālan Māravarman³. By his conquests he greatly expanded the Pāṇḍyan power. Under him began the Pāṇḍya-Pallava contest for supremacy in the Tamil country. He defeated the Pallavas at Sankaramangai⁴. At this time the Cālūkyā Vikramāditya I was also ranged against the Pallava. During his campaigns he appears to have penetrated far into the Tamil country. An alliance between him and his contemporary Pāṇḍya Arikeṣari against their common foe, the Pallava, is not very improbable. Arikeṣari won successes against the Keralas several times⁵. He also defeated the Paravar⁶ and the people of Kuṇṇaṇḍi⁷. His victory at Velvel has been mentioned in literary works also⁸. Some of his other successes were at

1. Line 50.

2. Velvikkuḍi grant 131 says, *marmuvāṇṇapalipṭhāri* *raṇiṭṭāra*. Dr Winslow gives under *raṇi* the phrase *raṇiṭṭēraṇ* in the sense of a "son".

3. Lines 15-16. The Velvikkuḍi grant calls him Māravarman and Arikeṣari Maamasaman v. 5 and 162. While the Larger Sinnamānūr Plates call him Arikeṣari and Parāṇkuṣa v. 103-105.

4. Larger Sinnamānūr Plates II. 104-105.

5. Velvikkuḍi grant II. 56-57.

6. The Paravar may be the Paradavar on the southern coastal region of the Pāṇḍya country.

7. Velvikkuḍi grant, II. 54-55.

8. *Periyapargadam* No. 30 *Nirraṣi Nedumārañṇāyār*; *Sundarar in Tiruttundat-tagai* st. 2, 3-4 also mentions this victory.

Pāl, Śeṇḍilam and Pulvūr¹. The identity of some of these battle fields is not clear. To celebrate his achievements he performed *harap yagorba* and *tulābhāra* several times².

Arakēśari Māraṇvarman has been identified with the regional Kāṇ Pāṇḍya or Nigraṣiṛ Vedumāra Nāṇmār who was venerated in Jainism to Śaivism by the great Śaiva saint Jñānaseṇa bardar. According to the *Periappirānam* and the *Madurai Śhalapūrāṇa* his queen was a Cōlā princess Maṇḍa varkaṇḍi, and his minister Kōṭṭi cōṭai both of whom are also included in the list of 63 Śaiva saints.

Arakēśari's son Juṭṭai or Kōccāḍayan alias Raṇadhīra c. 730-730 A.D. was also a great conqueror. His aggressive wars helped to expand the Pāṇḍya power in various directions. The Vēlikkoḍi hills region between Travancore and The Nilgiris were defeated at Marudur³. His title *Kongarkumāra* suggests his conquest of the Kongu and Pāṇḍya expansion into Kāṇḍa country. The Vēlikkoḍi grant says that he defeated the Marathar at the big city *manānūgara* of Maṇḍalapuram (modern Mangalore)⁴. His policy may refer to some expedition to the west coast about which no more is known at present. Kōccāḍayan is called "Tiruv-Vāraṇ Sombayin Solon". These indicate that he considered himself the overlord of the Cēras and Cōlās. He had the title *Madai karuṇa-takkar*⁵. The Vēlikkoḍi grant also mentions victories at Sengaiṭṭi and Puḍankodu⁶.

Raṇadhīra's son Māraṇvarman Raṇasimha I c. 730-63 A.D. was again a powerful ruler. He appears to have supported the cause of Cēramāya a pretender to the Pōḍava throne. Soon after his accession Nandivarman II Pallavamana c. 730-796 A.D., had an

1. Vēlikkoḍi grant II. 53, 56 and 58.

2. Ibid. v. 8, II. 60-61.

3. Probably Tiruppuḍamarudur near Ambasamudraim. The victory at Marudur is mentioned by the Smaller Sūramāṅgur Plates II. 27-29 and Vēlikkoḍi grant (II. 63-64).

4. Vēlikkoḍi grant, II. 65-67.

5. This had evidently some connection with the defeat of the Kālāḍyas, as explained earlier in this chapter.

6. Lines 64-65.

fact a considerable combination organised by the Pāṇḍvas. Nandavarman was defeated by Rājasimha at Nandipara (near Kumbakonam) but was released by his general Udayaditya who killed Caturmāva and gained several victories in the Tanjore district where the two parties are said to have fought many battles. While Palava copper plates limit at a few Pāṇḍva reverses the Pāṇḍva king claims to have inflicted on a host of defeats on the Palava king Nandivarman. Palavaśatru-maḍa² The Pāṇḍva king had the title *Paṇḍavabhaṭṭa-jana*³. The Velvikkuḍi grant mentions a number of victories won by the king⁴. In the Kongu country Pāṇḍva sway may have extended up to Pāṇḍavaśatru-maḍi where Rājasimha is stated to have offered worship to Paśupati.

Malakongam on the borderland between the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts was subjugated. The Malava princess was betrothed to the Pāṇḍva king. Rājasimha came into conflict with Cāṇḍika Kirtivarman II and the Gargā feudatory Śaṅkara-ruḍa of whom were defeated at Venṇaṣa⁵. He then married a Gargā princess⁶.

Rājasimha was succeeded by his son Parāntaka alias Veḍṇi-jadavarman who was one of the greatest imperialsists of the age. He was the son of the Malava queen. He was known by many names like Jaṭa, Mūṣanajadaman and Varaguna Mahārāja I. He had a long reign of about 30 years c. 765-815 A.D. He was the donor of the famous Velvikkuḍi grant, the earliest of the Pāṇḍva copper plate grants so far found, and the Madras Museum plates.

Early in his reign he won a great victory over the Pallava king (Kāḍava evidently Nandivarman II Pallavamalla) at Pennāgaḍam on the south bank of the Kaveri⁷. The Pallava allied with the kings

1. Udayēndiram plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, No. 74.

2. Velvikkuḍi grant, v. 12, ll. 77-78.

3. Madras Museum plates, v. 5.

4. Lines 11-79 refer to the victories at Neduvaval, Kurumadaṣu, Mannik-kuruvu, Tanjannagai, Puzalur, Kodumbalur and Periyalur.

5. Velvikkuḍi grant, v. 14.

6. Velvikkuḍi grant, ll. 128-129.

7. Ibid. ll. 84, 126-127.

8. Velvikkuḍi grant, ll. 92-94.

of Kongu and Kērala as well as the Adigamān of Tagadūr (Dharmapur). But the Pāṇḍya defeated them in a number of battles, captured the king of Western Kongu and imprisoned him at Madurai¹. The Trichinopoly inscription of his 11th year² states that the king destroyed Vēmbal and was encamped at Niyamam, both of which are in the Cōla country. A record of the 16th year³ shows that the king had advanced far into the Pallava domain and fixed his camp at Araṅgur on the banks of the Pennār in Tondanāḍ. Parantaka also defeated the Aṅgietam⁴ and the king of Vēṇāḍ⁵ and destroyed V.ḷḷāṁ. Perhaps in order to keep these newly conquered southern regions under efficient control he fortified Karavandapuram (Ukkirankōṭṭai)⁶ in Tinnelvely, the home of the Vaidyakula family; many of whose members served in various capacities under the Pāṇḍya rulers of this period. Parantaka's extensive conquests led to the expansion of Pāṇḍya territory into Cōla, Pallava, Kongu and Vēṇāḍ countries. The Pāṇḍya empire stretched from the extreme south to a part of Tondanāḍ in the north and included Vēṇāḍ, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Coimbatore.

Parantaka's indefatigable activities were not confined to mere wars and conquests. He was a great builder and a liberal benefactor of temples. Parāntaka made liberal grants to the temples at Tiruccendūr, Ambasamudram and Trichinopoly⁷. He is stated to have built a large Viṣṇu temple at Kancivāypperūr in the Kongu country⁸. His reign was characterised by much building activity. Many rock-cut temples and shrines were either excavated or added to. For instance, the Narasimha temple on the Ānamala hill near Madurai was excavated by the famous Māraṅgārī brothers who were the Pāṇḍya *Uttaramuntras*.

1. Madras Museum plates, II. 31-33.

2. M.E.R. 414 of 1904.

3. M.E.R. 105 of 1905.

4. M.E.R. 43 of 1908, Velvikkudi grant, II. 94-95.

5. Madras Museum plates II. 39-42.

6. E.L. Vol. XXIII, No. 45.

7. M.E.R. 26 of 1912, 414 of 1904, 105 of 1905 respectively.

8. Madras Museum plates II. 34-35.

Some scholars connect the name of Parāntaka with the Saiva saint Maṇikkavācaṅkar, who, according to legend, is stated to have been the minister of a Pāṇḍya king¹.

The son and successor of Neṅaiṇjaṅgaraiyan was Śrīvāra Śrīvalabha (c. 815-862 A.D.), who had the titles *Ekakṛta* and *Parasakranīlāhala*. He won victories at Kunnūr and Vēlānam². The larger *Sinṇamānūr* plates refer to the king's victory over the king of Sinṇala (Ceylon)³. The *Mahāvamśa* gives a fuller account of the Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon⁴. Śrīvālabha invaded the island of Ceylon in the reign of Sena I (831-51 A.D.), ravaged the northern parts of the island and sacked the capital Anurādhapura. Sena I was defeated and fled to the Malaya country. Finally the fugitive king made a treaty with the Pāṇḍya victor.

Śrīvālabha's reign was marked by victories as well as reverses in the contest against the Pallavas. The Pallava king Nandivarman III (844-66 A.D.), joined with the Gangas and Cōlas and probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, also and severely defeated the Pāṇḍya king at Teḷḷāru (North Arcot district) on account of this victory Nandivarman took the title "Teḷḷāreṇḍa"⁵. Later on Śrīvālabha won a great victory at Kaṇḍamūṅku (Kumbakonam) in about 859 A.D. against a formidable combination of the Gangas, Pallavas, Cōlas, Kaṅgas, Magadhas and others⁶. But subsequently he was defeated at the Aric⁷ by the Pallava Nṛpatanḡavarman who had succeeded Nandivarman.

1. While the general opinion now is that Maṇikkavācaṅka succeeded the Deva-
ramana it is not possible at present to assign the saint definitely to the reign of either
of the two Varagunas known to his work. If Maṇikkavācaṅka lived in the 4th century
A.D. his Pāṇḍyan contemporary was most probably Varaguna II (862-80 A.D.).

2. Larger *Sinṇamānūr* plates, II. 108-109.

3. The larger *Sinṇamānūr* plates (v. 1) state that Śrīvāra conquered in battle
Maya Pāṇḍya, the Kerala, the king of Sinṇala, the Pallava and the Vālabha.

4. Wyczenba's translation of *Mahāvamśa*, Chaps. 1 & 2.

5. M.E.R. 180 of 1907, 144 of 1929.

6. Larger *Sinṇamānūr* plates, II. 110-113, Bahur plates of Nṛpatanḡavarman
I.E.L., Vol. XVIII, No. 2.

7. The river Aricil, a branch of the Kaveri.

The later years of Śrīvallabha were clouded not only by the defeat at Arur but also by other reverses. The *Mahāvamsa* states¹ that Sena II 801-880 A.D., the successor of Sena I supported the cause of one Māyā-Pāṇḍya, a pretender and invaded the Pāṇḍya country. While the Larger Śrinānāṇḍr plates state that the Pāṇḍya king conquered in battle Māyā-Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* gives a detailed account of Pāṇḍya reverse. It states that the Ceylonese invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom surrounded and took the capital Madurai that Śrīvallabha died of wounds and that his son Varagunavarmā II was placed on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Ceylonese commander-in-chief in 862 A.D.² It is not clear why the highly colored account of the Ceylonese Conquest should be accepted in its entirety.

Śrīmāga's successor was Varagunavarmā II (862-880 A.D.). To check the Pāṇḍya power Varagunavarmā led an expedition against Idai, the Cōḷa country (c. 879 A.D.)³ But soon he had to face a powerful confederacy headed by the Pallava Aparājita, the son of Nṛpaṇḍyavarmā of the Cōḷa Āḍṛya Land and the Western Ganga Prithvipati I. At the decisive battle of Śrīpuraṁbhivam⁴ near Kumbakonam about 880 A.D. the Pāṇḍya king was completely defeated, a battle the Western Ganga Prithvipati II lost his life in the battle. Śrīpuraṁbhivam was one of the most decisive battles in the history of South India. The Pāṇḍya power was shaken and it took several centuries for the kingdom to assert itself once again.

Paṇḍraka Vīra-nārāyaṇa Saḍaṣyan (880-900 A.D.), the younger brother of Varagunavarmā was the next ruler. The Larger Śrinānāṇḍr plates state that he won several successes at Śennilam Kharagiri, Nambur and Pennagadam as well as in Kongu country⁵.

1. *Mahāvamsa* chap. li.

2. W. Geiger Tr. *Cūḷavamsa* p. 158. The Ceylonese *senapati* is stated to have laid waste the Pāṇḍya country and "surrounded the town of Madhura. He blocked the gates, cut off all traffic and set fire to towers, bastions and gates."

3. M.E.R. 690 of 1905.

4. Udavendiram plates of Prithvipati II, S. I.I. Vol II, No. 76 v. 18, M.E.R. 337 of 1912.

5. Verse 13, 14-18-121, Verse 13 says that he captured in a battle near Kharagiri the powerful king Ugra.

vandapara was the *Uttaramantri* or the Chief Minister of Parāntaka Nedūṇṇaiyan¹. After his death his brother Māraṇ Eynan became the Pāṇḍya *Uttaramantri*².

Many members of the Vandyakula family appear to have served as royal ministers or generals under the Pāṇḍyas. Mūrti Eynan³, perhaps another brother of Māraṇkāra, was *Mahāsāmantri*⁴ of the king Śālan Gaṇapati who was also a *Mahāsāmantri* in the sixth year of the king's reign was another member of the same family⁵.

Enāḍi Sāraṇ Sāttan was the brother of Sāttan Gaṇapati and was the *Sēnāpati* or commander-in-chief⁶. Mention is made of a *Mahāsāyaka* whose functions are not definitely known⁷. An inscription of the fortysixth year of Māraṇjaṇayan from Kaligumalai⁸ refers to 'Tirumalai Virar' and 'Parāntaka Virar'. Perhaps these are the names of regiments or groups of soldiers. An officer in charge of elephants, or *Maṭaṅgaśāsthyakṣa*, is referred to in the Madras Museum plates⁹.

For local administration the country was divided into *valamāṇḍu*¹⁰, *nāḍu*, *ṭurraṇṇu* and *grāma*. The *nāḍu* is termed *nāṣṭi*¹¹ in the Sanskrit part of the Larger Sannamanūr plates. The *grāma* or village was the unit of local administration. The names of *grāmas* usually end in *maṅgalam*, *kudi* and *ū*. Generous gifts of whole villages were

1. M.E.R. 453 and 454 of 1906.

2. M.E.R. 459 of 1906.

3. Anabak of the Madras Museum plates.

4. Dr. V.V. Mahalingam *South Indian Poetry* p. 116 says that the *mahāsamantri* was probably a minister in charge of the department dealing with feudal vassals and that he had a place in the king's council.

5. Madras Museum plates and M.E.R. 37 of 1903. I.A. Vol. 22 pp. 67 and 71.

6. Velvikkudi grant, II. 139-140.

7. M.E.R. 194 and 196 of 1936.

8. M.E.R. 863 of 1917.

9. Madras Museum plates, II. 72-75.

10. M.E.R. 155 of 1903 of Varaguna II mentions *anadagumraṇṇaṇḍu* and *caṭṭaṇḍu*.

11. Larger Sannamanūr plates, vv. 25-27, 28-30.

made by kings to temples and to individuals. Inscriptions of the period give very interesting and minute details about the form and procedure of granting lands and villages. The boundary of the village to be given as a gift was generally fixed by letting loose a female elephant and following its track. The Larger Sīnamānūr plates mention that *Nakkam Kumān* was the master of the female elephant and that *Nakkam Kāṇṇa*, *Kōn Vēlān* and *Paṭāraṇsōlai* were three accountants appointed to supervise the circumambulation of the female elephant¹. The female elephant referred to here was evidently the one used for fixing the boundaries of the gift villages of Narcevaṇṇaṭṭūr. The royal order regarding the gift was called *āṇṇaṭṭi* or *āṇṇaṭṭi*, and was carefully engraved on copper plates under the supervision of a high officer of the State². The scribes were generally the *Perumpāṇaṅkkaṭṭar* of the kings. Though *paṇai* may be rendered as "drum", it seems to have other meanings also such as 'a row of horses' in which case the term may stand for a Chief Cavalry Officer or something similar³.

Māraṇṇajayan alias Varaguna Mahārāja made liberal gifts to the temples at Tiruccendur, Ambāsamudraim, Trichinopoly and Javanl nāthapuram. The inscriptions referring to these⁴ give many interesting details about the nature of permanent endowments, rates of interest, standards of currency, administration of fixed deposits, temple servants and trustees and details of temple services and offerings. They also mention the *sabhai*, the *sabhai vāṇṇam* and mercantile corporations⁵.

1. pp. 35-36.

2. The *āṇṇaṭṭi* of the Veivickudi grant, the Madras Museum plates and the Larger and Smaller Sīnamānūr plates were the minister Marangar, Jhūmtaran Mar. Eṇṇar, a *Mahāsamānta Kurraṇṇa* (the king's "servant" and Tayan Singar. 3. *Cheramantri* of Kanjur in Kandar Kurram of Andanadu, respectively.

3. K. A. N. akanta Sastri: *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 88, n. 1, The Veivickudi grant was engraved by Yuduakesar Pandya, Perumpāṇaṅkkan Madras Museum Plates by Panṭipēṇṇaṅkkaṭṭar alias Anṭṭar and the Smaller Sīnamānūr plates by Anṭṭar, son of Paṇḍi Perumpāṅkkan.

4. M. E. R. 96 of 1912 and 153 of 1903, both from Tiruccendur; M. E. R. 104 and 11 of 1905 from Ambāsamudraim, 104 of 1947 from Javanl nāthapuram.

5. M. E. R. 44 of 1904 from Trichinopoly mentions the *Paṭi* of Currambar and the servants of the temple or the *Paṇḍaṇṇaṭṭam*. The *Paṭi* is probably the head of a mercantile corporation or a royal officer.

The Manar inscription (35th regnal year) of Māyājayaṅk contains rules for membership of the village *sabha*. It is of special significance since it is more than a century earlier than the Utharamerur inscriptions of the time of the Chola Parāṅkura I dealing with Chola village administration. From this record it is learnt that qualifications of property and learning were prescribed for membership of the village *sabha*.

A brief account of membership and the working of the assembly is given. It is stated that of the thirty-five of *śāstrī* (learned men) in the village only one, who is well behaved and is called the *Mahā-Bodhivāsa* and one *dharma-jē* (Chief or Law, *dharmajē*) be the village assembly, *maṭṭu* to represent the share held by the village. Only one of some legal fixtures may be sold or bought by the village. Shares purchased, received as present or acquired by a *stranger* through his wife, 2, that (shares) purchased, purchased or received as *stridhana* could retain one, if at all only one of them may sit in the assemblies, and in no case will father, father-in-law, or a nephew membership be recognised, 3, that those who purchase shares must elect only such men to represent their shares in the assembly as have critically studied a whole Veda with a *paṭṭaśāstrī*; 4, that those who do not possess full membership as laid down by rule 2, cannot sit and on any committee (*śāstrī*), for the management of village affairs. 5, that those who satisfy the prescribed conditions should in no case persistently oppose (in the proceedings of the assembly) by saying "no, no" to every proposal brought before the assembly, and 6 that those who do this together with their supporters will pay a fine of five *kāṭṭu* on each item to which they so behaved) and still continue to submit to the same. The existence of these village assemblies and their composition in the Madurai country is known from other inscriptions of the period also¹.

Information regarding other committees are given in some *Vatteluttu* inscriptions. A damaged *Vatteluttu* epigraph of Śaṅkaran Māṇan gives the name of an assembly called *Pāṭupāṭṭappuramakkal*

1. M.E.R. 423 of 1906 from Manar; E.I. XXII, pp. 9-11.

2. M.E.R. 70 of 1905 mentions the *sabha* of Narainganangalam. M.E.R. 34 of 1947; M.E.R. 604 of 1915.

Several epigraphs give the interesting information that gifts and endowments to certain temples were placed under the protection of mercantile corporations and scholars. Two records give an agreement for the supply of ghee to a temple in return for the gift of 50 sheep. The gift and the endowments were placed under the protection of the *nagaralldr* and the scholars *mudilavagar* and *anagaravagar*.¹ Placing temples and temple property also under military protection seems to have been an ancient custom.²

Epigraphs refer to the names of various temple bodies. The temple functionaries mentioned are of the order as follows: the bodies *Saṭṭappanmakal*, the *Aṅgāḍi gaviḍr*, the *Pāṇḍi* the *Pāṇḍi-ūṇḍi*, and the *Uṇḍi*.³ In later usage the first three and fourth bodies are spoken of together as *paṭṭapaṇḍiūṇḍi-ūṇḍi*.

(ii) Literature

In the field of literature the works of the *Dēdram* and the *Taṇṭi* as *gam* and *Taṇṭi* of Māṇikkavācakar as well as the hymns of the Ālvārs belong to this period. The writing of poems in the form of a *koṣa* seems to have become very popular during this period. The *Pāṇḍi* which was written during this period is available only in numerous citations. It was suggested by a *Pāṇḍi* king.⁴ The commentary of the *Ṭaṇṭi* *Ṭaṇṭi* traditionally ascribed to Nakkīr may be assigned to about the 8th c. A.D. It is one of the earliest of Tamil prose commentaries. A record of the reign of Neḍumāraṇ Śrīvaḥyaṇa mentions a poet of the *Sāṭṭi* who came of the family of one (a poet who had the distinction of being seated on the stone slab at Kadalur, Madurai, during

1. M.E.R. 194 and 196 of 1936.

2. M.E.R. 117 of 1909 is Courtatōre District from Sangramam. It states that the *gaviḍr* temple and its property were placed under the protection of scholars. One of 1909 from Tiruvithicaram states that the *gaviḍr* temple and its property and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Cola army *caṇṇa muraḥar-maṇḍi*.

3. M.E.R. 228 of 1933, Report Pt. II para 29.

4. The hero of the poem was probably Arasari Maravarman c. 670-707 A.D.

5. M.E.R. 534 of 1930.

for its Tamil The *Mullāḍṇam*, of which only 106 verses are known now was also composed during this age. Originally it was a work of 100 *gāthā*. 90 each in praise of each of the three Tamil monarchs. I don't know who was the author of this work. *Kaddagam* written by Kallāḍṭār has as its basis Māṅkavācaka's *Tirukkur* and consists of 30 *Tirumūlā vāḍakal* (songs) in his own language. It is a collection of songs selected from the *Tiruvēttam* and other works at once sung together by legions gathering before God at Meenar. On the whole, the nature of the poems is to glorify the sacred character, religious fervour and devotion.

(201) Religion

[illegible]

THE NĀṬYAKA. I am now generally agreed that the Saiva Nāṭyaśāstra and Jñānasambhara were contemporary, and that Śaṅkara lived well after the rise of either. A date of about 681 A.D. has, however, not been put by Mr. Mārkaṇḍeya, who recorded and followed the *Deśamukha* Office Śaṅkara, who lived in the period Jñānasambhara, a Brahman youth.

In his book *Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India* p. 447 C. V. Narayana Iyer gives the following dates to the four Saiva saints: Appar 660-681 A.D., Sambandar 644-660 A.D. and Marikkavarkal 666-692 A.D. and Sundarar "must have lived for 18 years any time between A.D. 719 and A.D. 735".

from Śīrkāl (Shiyāl) in Tanjore district and Māṇikkavācakar hailing from Tiruvāḍavūṛ made the greatest contributions for the Śaiva revival in the Madurai country. Jñānasambandar lived in the middle of the 7th c. A.D. He is stated to have composed 10,000 hymns during his brief lifetime of 16 years. Of these only 384 hymns have come down to us today and constitute the first three books of the Śaiva canon (*Tirumurai*). Sambandar denounces the Jains and Buddhists in almost every hymn. He visited a large number of temples singing the glories of Śiva. He is famous for the miraculous cure of Kūṇ Pāṇḍya¹ and the conversion of the king from Jainism to Śaivism. According to tradition Kūṇ Pāṇḍya's queen Maṅgarakkaraṣi and Kulaccigaḥ, the minister, who were ardent Śaivas, invited Sambandar to Madurai to free the king and the country from the influence of Jainism which was then predominant there. Sambandar visited Madurai and defeated the Jains in various religious contests and disputes, cured the king of a malignant fever and won back the ruler and his subjects to Śaivism. Sambandar's efforts were largely responsible for the decline and downfall of Jainism in Madurai and the Tamil country. There is a shrine dedicated to Jñānasambandar in the Madurai temple.

Māṇikkavācaka was born in Tiruvāḍavūṛ near Madurai in the Mēlūr taluk. He is also known as Tiruvāḍavūṛar after the name of his native town. He became a great scholar while still in his teens. He is traditionally known to have been the minister of Arimardhana Pandya. God Sundarēśvara of Madurai is said to have performed many miracles on his behalf.²

Later on Māṇikkavācaka left the services of the Pāṇḍya king and devoted himself to the service of God. He visited many shrines of South India singing the praise of God. At Chidambaram he is reputed to have vanquished the Buddhists from Ceylon in religious debates. As a poet and mystic Māṇikkavācaka occupies a unique place in the history of Tamil sacred literature. His *Tiruvāḍakam* forms the eighth book of the Śaiva canon.

1. About the earlier King Pāṇḍya is generally identified with Arimardhana Maṅgaravarmān (670-700 A.D.).

2. Nambī's *Tirumūṟi* (Nos. 27-30); Parangipū's *Tirumūṟi* (Nos. 30-61).

THE ALVARS The revival of orthodox Hinduism in the Tamil country was due not only to the intellectual efforts of the Saiva Nāyanars but also to the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs. Of the twelve Ālvārs, four hailed from the Pāṇḍya country. They were Nammālvār, Madhuraṅkavālvār, Perivālvār and Āṇḍāl. Nammālvār was the greatest of them all. He was a Veṇḍiāṭṭr in Ālvār Tiruṇāṅḁu (Kuruṅḁūr) in Tinnevely district. He wrote the *Tiruvāymōḁi*, the *Tiruvirut-tam*, *Tiruvāṣṭayam* and *Periya Tiruvandāḁi*. His hymns form the second largest individual total in the *Nāḁāyira Prabandham* collection. His disciple was Madhuraṅkavālvār. Attempts have been made to identify Madhuraṅkavālvār with Māṅḁāṅkāri, the minister of Puṇḁātaka Nāḁūṇḁayyan (760-810 A.D.).¹

Perivālvār (also known as Viṣṇuṇṁṁṁ and Bhāṭṭarpuṇḁān) was a Brahman of Śrīvaṇḁapurūr (Ramanāḁ district) who lived about the close of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A.D. He wrote the *Tirupḁallāṇḁu* and about 500 hymns in the *Nāḁāyira Prabandham* collection. He is reputed to have won in a religious disputation in the court of the Pāṇḁya king Śrīmaṁṁ Śrīvallaḁḁa (815-62 A.D.). His daughter Āṇḁāl or Kōḁḁai is one of the greatest of women mystics. Her hymns reflect her intense devotion to Viṣṇu. She wrote the *Nāḁḁḁāḁi Tiruvōḁi* and the *Tirupḁallāḁi*.

JAINISM Jainism, which had existed side by side with Hinduism in the Saṁgama Age spread rapidly and gained great prominence in the Madurai country from the 5th century onwards. But owing to the efforts of Saiva Nāyanars like Sambandar about the 7th c. A.D., it received a serious setback. Jainism continued to survive to some extent in the Madurai country and this is borne out by epigraphical evidences. Many Vāṭṭelutai inscriptions of about the 8th to 10th c. A.D. found in the Madurai region as well as in other parts of the Pāṇḁya country speak of several Jaina religious treatises, Jain *paḁḁis*, the erection of Jaina temples and images and the gifts to Jain temples. A record in Tamil verse² says

1. Venkayya in M.E.R. 1908 pt. II, paras 33-35. T. A. Gopnatha Rao, *Sri Vajrasana* pp. 18-20.

2. M.E.R. 394 of 1930.

Kugan¹, Tirukkāttampall² in Venṇanāḍu appears to have been one of the most important Jain religious houses of the time. Inscriptions mention a shrine of Tikkamagadevi³. Most of these Jain inscriptions are small ones on Velluṭṭu (copper plates) or engraved in rock below Jain figures on a relief.

Sambandar is known to have vanquished the Jains in the Madurai country during the 7th c. A.D. Patheogopally the famous Jain Vatteṭṭu inscriptions in the Madurai locality are assigned to the 9th-10th centuries. Jain inscriptions occur again only after a long interval but even then not in the Madurai locality. Since all the Jains may not have left the Madurai region immediately after being vanquished by Sambandar one may safely assign these Jain inscriptions to a period contemporaneous with Sambandar or the period immediately following his time.

RISE OF MATHAS During the period of the First Empire one notices the beginning of *mathas* which were destined to play a significant role in the cultural history of the mediaeval period. Several records mention a *matha* of Mallāvatins⁴. These records indicate that many unorthodox sects like the Kālāmukhas were widely prevalent during this period. A record of the Kodanṇālūr chieftain Vikrama Kēśari states that he presented a big *matha*, *Ṣṭhan-matham*, with eleven villages to Mallakāṇṇa of Madurai who was the chief ascetic of the Kālāmukha sect. Mallakāṇṇa belonged to the *Araya Gana* and was the disciple of two teachers named Vyāsa and Īśodhara. The Kanarese country was his stronghold of the Kālāmukha sect. The above record shows that the sect had extended its influence into Madurai. Pēcikkatt⁵ and Rāṇai also.

1. M.E.R. 61 and 62 of 1906 B.B. of 191-29 of 1906.

2. M.E.R. 750 of 1903 (Kongarpet) and 751 of 1903 (Kodanṇālūr).

3. M.E.R. 732 of 1903 (Uttamapalayam).

4. M.E.R. 70 of 1905.

5. M.E.R. 129 of 1907. M.E.R. 140 of 1907, paras 85-8. M.E.R. 191

(1) *Architecture: Cave and Structural Temples*

The period of the first Pandyan Empire was one of great significance in the architectural history of the Madras country. The Pāṇḍya kings were patrons of art and architecture. Many rock-cut caves and a number of shrines were excavated and structural stone temples built. Though similar stone structures were erected by the Pallavas also, the same period must be noted as the rock-cut cave temples of the Pāṇḍya country, however, the Pāṇḍya temples and their separate group by themselves with special characteristics of their own. For instance "some of the distinctive Pāṇḍya features such as *kūṇas* on the projecting cornice embellishments of facade capitals, pillars etc., are absent in Pāṇḍya caves. The tendency to make portrait sculptures in caves is an evidence¹ in the Pāṇḍya rock-cut caves. There is also a difference in the figures of *dvārapāṇas*. In the Pāṇḍya caves, while one *dvārapāṇa* rests on a cloud as in the Pallava types, the other has no club and often has his hands folded across the chest. The earliest rock-cut cave temple so far known in the Pāṇḍya country is the one at Pillavāṭṭipatti, which is about two miles from Kunniakudi in the Ramnad district. An archaic Vatteṭṭa inscription of about the 7th c. A.D.² on a plaster in this cave indicates that the cave may be assigned to the 7th c. A.D. The inscription is a short label of two lines and mentions a certain Ikkāttūrukkogṛuṇi Amṛin who was probably responsible for the excavation of the cave. The rock-cut cave temple is entirely self-revealed on its walls.

The date of the cave temple at Pillavāṭṭipatti is not definite. While the inscription containing the rock-cut figures is of an early date, the rock-cut figures themselves are of a later date. On the whole, however, this was certainly a work of the 7th c. locally known as Kappagāḍḍiṭṭai.

The cave temples at Āṇṇamalai are dated a century or so later than at Pillavāṭṭipatti. Āṇṇamalai is about six miles north-east

1. Venkatasubbia Ayyar, *Rock-cut Caves in the Pandya Country*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1946, pp. 12-23.

2. M.E.R. 156 of 1936.

of Madurai. Two inscriptions¹ in the rock-cut Natarajha temple on this hill refer to the construction of this shrine by Māṅgagan, the vésānti minister of the Pāṇḍya king Māṅgajagaim in 750 A.D. and the addition of a *mukha murti* to the shrine by the brother Māṅga Eynan. The cave temple with two pillars on each of solid rock is a small shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu whose image (a) is and was enshrined in 770 A.D.² Since the date of construction of the shrine is known it is of importance in the study of cave temples.

A few yards away from the cave there is another rock-cut cave with a sanctum and an outer porch supported on two square pillars with a quartered corners and lotus medallion ornaments. In the central shrine is a relief of Viṣṇu with his consort and within the porch are four figures, two of which probably represent deities.³

About the same time as the Āṇṇabāla shrine was excavated there were building temples in Tirupparankuṇṇam a few miles south west of Madurai. The rock-cut caves at Tirupparankuṇṇam in form an important group in the Pāṇḍya country and unlike many other cave temples continue in worship even today. The main shrine is a large cave cut in the rock surface facing north but is now half ruined. A medieval and modern structure in front of the Linga, a narrow passage east west and consists of a large rectangular opening. On the rock surface facing the entrance are reliefs of Somaśamya⁴ and Gaṇeśa at the two ends with Durgā in the

1. M.E.R. 453 and 454 of 1906, F. A. Vol. VI, p. 317 ff.

2. M.E.R. 454 of 1906.

3. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 218, n. 1. As this shrine is also a rock-cut shrine of Somaśamya at Āṇṇabāla was only one goddess as at Tirupparankuṇṇam and has a now called Somaśamya, which is evidently a corruption of Sāraṇān Kōval.

4. This Somaśamya panel was mistaken by T. A. Govindan Rao for a Jvāṇṇa group. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 392. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 218 n. 1. The Jvāṇṇa shrine as discussed below is at a lower level.

5. It is not clear whether the excavation of the shrine of Durgā is mentioned in M.E.R. 47 of 1908 refers to the central panel of Durgā in the sanctum or whether it refers to a Durgā shrine which might have been excavated somewhere else on the rock surface. Perhaps it is a reference to the group which is now known as Āṇṇapūrṇā Dēvi and which is at a lower level than the sanctum.

centre. In a chamber cut into the eastern wall is a image of Viṣṇu and in a smaller chamber cut on the western wall is a *large* with a crown. Śāntaśāstrī on the face of the rock behind the group of five images forms the central shrine. Two *deśapāṭakas* are the pillars of the entrance. In front of the chambers of Śiva and Viṣṇu there are two *deśapāṭakas* each. These latter *deśapāṭakas* are heavily coated with cement *śādu* perhaps to repair damaged parts. But the *deśapāṭakas* of the front entrance are un-damaged and resemble Pallava work.

A Vaṭṭeḷu inscription¹ on the rock near the Māraṅgaḍayan *śānta* Pīśāntaka records that Śānta Ganapati, who was the king's *mahāsammān* and a member of the Vāṇaḍimur Kṛṣṇaśāstrī family, carried out many repairs. *naṭṭapaṭṭa* means temple and *naṭṭa* is Tirupparankinram² and his wife Nakkangorīyar repaired the shrines of Durgādēv and Jyeṣṭha³. Nakkirar and many other Sangam poets refer to Tirupparankinram as a holy centre to Maruṇi. The *Pāṇṭy* refers to the image of Maruṇi standing on *naṭṭapaṭṭa* near the temple. The springs on the hill and so on. Saṅghandur in his *Dāśārṇ* calls him Parankinra. Since Śānta Ganapati seems to have carried out repairs only to the temple, the inference that the inscription is probably earlier than the date of Māraṅgaḍayan (c. 765-815 A.D.),

Outside this shrine are other images carved on the rock surface on the east and west. On the east, Viṣṇu and Varāha are carved on the eastern face while on the western face a deity with a bull behind and Natarāja are carved. A third figure has been partly covered with water and the niches are colonnaded by a small chamber behind the wall.

There are a number of subsidiary caves but none on different levels below this principal shrine. Though small and difficult to access they are, however, interesting for their sculptures. Two caves are below the large *naṭṭapaṭṭa* which occupies the sanctum

1. M.F.R. 37 of 1900, *Indian Art Quarterly*, Vol. XXII pp. 6-18.

2. "Śānta Ganapati mahāsammān mahādēv amāta tāgannan."

3. "Nakkangorīyar ceyappattāṇa Durgādēv aḍvāla pēraṇ kōyḍam."

About the Durgā shrine mentioned in the Vattelattu inscription of Māraṇaṭṭayan one does not know whether it refers to the figure of Durgā in the central shrine or to the Devīgroup which is at a lower level (fig. 2). The latter group is a large one and is in a chamber to the west of wall 1, or the present may be called the Sūra Śaṅkhāra group. The group is carved in a recess measuring about 12 ft. long and 20 ft. five feet high. Within this space 21 figures have been carved. The Devī is seated on a *padmāsana*. The back of the throne is ornamented with *makara* and *nukha*. The Devī is four-armed, with a *jaṭhā mukha*. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the back right hand is the *gāyā*. The front left hand rests on the thigh and the back left hand holds the *paṇḍita*. The right leg is bent and rests on the seat while the left leg hangs out of the seat. On either side of the Devī on the wall are niches of two figures each and next to them are two heavenly figures, probably Sūrya and Candra. On the wall to the right of the Devī are three standing figures with *koṭṭa* and *hanna* in various poses. A similar group of three figures is on the wall on the left side. All six perhaps represent *ayana* figures. Behind her sitting on the ground next to the Devī, on the right and left are two sages who are perhaps Vedavyāsa and Parāśara as they resemble similar statues elsewhere in the temple. The front row includes four figures, two on either side. A figure seated on the ground on the right next to the Devī appears to be playing on the *veṇu* while a similar figure on the left appears to have held a *viṇa* in her hands. Two standing figures are on either side in front of the recess, completing the group. The figure on the right holds a sword, and a shield, in his hands while the figure on the left has a goat's head in his right hand and the *camuṇḍa* bow and the left hand resting on his thigh. They probably are *dharmapāṇis*. The Devī is flanked by a *Vara* figure who wears a *śaṭṭika* and a *śaṭṭika* as to the right sculpture. I may mention Bhaṅgavān who has *kaṇḍalā*, *kankuṇḍa*, is seated on a *padmāsana* with *paṇḍita* and *veṇu* in his hands. The two remaining hands are in the *abhaya* and *gāyā* pose. In Moore's *Hindu Pantheon* (1851) is a photograph of a wall on which a similar sculpture of his group in the Tirupparankulam hill. The photograph shows Devī seated on a *śaṭṭika*, Sūrya, Candra and Brahmā, Viṇa and Śaṅkha on the right and Indra, Agni

and others on the other side. *Rishi* in *yōga* attitude are seated around the Devi.

Below the *mahā mahāpā*, on the eastern side is a long dark, narrow passage which leads to a chamber in the rock face wherein a group of three figures are carved. These represent Jyestâ Devi with her son and daughter (fig. 3). Jyestâ is seated on a platform with her legs hanging down in front. Her hair which is tied up is surmounted by a *makuta*. She is two-handed and in her right hand she holds a *uttipala* flower. Her left hand rests on her thigh. Her daughter was seated to her left. She wears an *pañāpavita*. The sculpture here does not show her with the *pāñāpavita* as is always shown in the representations. Her bow-faced son is seated to her right. He is also two-handed. His right hand holds a club. He has also the *pañāpavita*. His right leg hangs in front of the seat while his left leg is bent and rests on the seat. The Devi daughter holds a *uttipala* in her right hand while her left hand hangs down and rests on the seat. The right leg is bent on the seat and the left leg hangs in front.

The sculpturing leaves no doubt that it is of the early period, perhaps of the 7th-8th centuries. The group is in a good state of preservation and therefore has not been covered by cement *sādhā*.

Just below the floor level of the *mahā mahāpā* and almost in line with the entrance to the sanctum are two big relief carved figures who are called *Anṣarāṣharana* and *Ugramūrti*. One of these carvings (that of *Ugramūrti*)¹ is shown in figure 4. It has a chain ornament worn *pañāpavita*-wise and is decorated with necklaces, armlets and bracelets. The right hand is held in the *varada* pose while the left hand rests on the knee of the left leg. The treatment of eyes and nose reveals that these particular carvings may belong to a later period than the carvings in the cave chambers. These two figures are probably *dhārāpālakas*.

The *Umayāṇḍan* cave at the foot of the southern side of the *Tirappirankangam* hill presents interesting problems. The cave

1. It is evidently this Jyestâ group which is referred to in M.E.R. 37 of 1903 where Nakkaṅgorn, the wife of Sattan Ganavadi, is said to have excavated a shrine to Jyestâ.

properly set into the rock. The front pillars are of the cubical type with lotus medallions and early Pallava-type corbels all of which are much damaged (fig. 5). On the wall facing the front of the cave are three panels, two of which contain carvings in relief. The first panel on the left is empty. The middle panel also carved of Nāṭarāja and the third panel shows Subramaniam with his two consorts. The Nāṭarāja panel (fig. 6) which is somewhat heavily damaged shows the God from the waist up only. The legs have been destroyed as also the two feet hands. The flanking *devadās* is visible. Mayagan and Nandi with the drum are not so damaged. Kartikeya as a small figure above Nandi. The Devi who stands on the left of Nāṭarāja is without head or hands. On the piers on either side of Nāṭarāja are carvings of Gaṇeśa and Subrahmanya. Gaṇeśa is ten-headed and Subrahmanya is shown on the peacock. The Subrahmanya pane which is next to his shows him as a warrior armed with his two consorts, Valmiki and Dēvavān on either side (fig. 7).

In a niche on the wall on the left side is a figure of Ardhanaṛa with a tail behind (fig. 8). On top of the Ardhanaṛa is a piece of scroll-work to which may be taken to be a stylised form of a tree or *śākhā*. It perhaps represents a *lanyan* tree. The wall on the right side contains a long inscription of Māgavarigan Sannar-Pāṇḍya I, 1216-1234 A.D.,

Outside the rock-cut cave, are figures carved in niches on either side on the rock surface. On the left side are the figures of Viṣṇuśvara and two *ṛṣi* who are perhaps Vedavyasa and Parāśara (fig. 9). On the right side in a niche is a solitary figure which could not be identified at present. There were probably other figures on either side of it, as all traces of these are now lost. The surviving relief perhaps represents some royal personage seated on a wide *pīṭha* with the right leg resting on a small pedestal (fig. 10). The figure seems to have been well ornamented but no *makuta* or *kīrti* is seen at present. The next panel has three figures carved in it which are in a better state of preservation (fig. 11). The first figure has a long *chignon* and is seen standing in a devotional attitude and perhaps represents a royal donor. The centre figure is perhaps Samhanandar or Balasubrahmanya or Skanda as a dancing child. The third figure is no doubt the Tamil saint Appar. The last niche has a figure of Bhairava with

a dog behind (fig. 12). The figure of Bhairava looks almost like a Jaina *tīrtankara*.

These images by their subjects and style of carving probably belong to a later period than those in the Subrahmanya shrine on the north face of the rock. Also one cannot escape the feeling that the work has been done by a lesser hand. A certain amount of awkwardness is noticeable, and if one examines the rock surface one can see the many incision outlines of figures which were perhaps done as a preliminary to carving or as rough sketches. The Unmāṇḍān shrine is now in ruins.

Among other caves attributable to the Pāṇḍyas is the cave at Sattamavāsan. A large record engraved on the wall of the rock-cut Jain temple here, which is in Pannavase¹ mentions the Pāṇḍya king Avimpaśēkan who Śrīvallabha Śaṅkapa Śivalabha 815-862 A.D., and records that Maṇḍanāśiryaṇa Lakṣmīnātha repaired the inner *mandapa* and built another *mandapa* in front of the temple, evidently referring to the rock-cut cave.

Koṭṭigūḍa, 12 miles from Śankaraśrīnāṅkōyil in Kōṭṭattiruk (Tamilvelly District), is interesting for its rock-cut temple and emporia. The rock on which these are cut is nearly 300 feet high. Three of its sides are precipitous. The most famous of its rock-cut temples is known as Vṛṇvān Kōvi. This temple, which is about 30 feet high and 40 feet deep has been carved out of a great ridge of the rock. The rock from which it has been cut is still standing surrounding the temple on three of its sides. The temple which is in two parts with a *garbhagrāha* and a chamber in front is quadrangular. There is no idol inside it. The most noticeable part is the *śikhara* which is covered externally with *karnakūḍa* patterns and *śūla* and resembles that of the Vijaya and Dharmarājya temples in Mahabalipuram. The ornamentation and sculpturing of figures of the Koṭṭigūḍa temple are more advanced and better finished. As the carved figures are in Śaiva form there can be little doubt that the temple was intended to be for Brahmaśiva worship. The rock-cut emporia ascribed to the 9th century² has a story "to

1. M.E.R. 368 of 1904, 215 of 1941, M.F.R. 1936 pt. II, para 4.

2. V. Venkatarubbayyar, *Rock-cut Centers in the Pāṇḍya Country* "Proceedings of the Indian History Congress", 1943, p. 119.

furnish a link between the rock-cut caves and structural monuments in the Pāṇḍya country¹

Higher up on the face of the rock are numerous carvings in relief of four *śrīgāthas*. Old Vatteḷuttu inscriptions are found below these figures. On the other side of the rock at its foot is a Subrahmaṇya temple. The sanctum and the *mandapa* in front of it are cut into the rock.

Several other rock-cut temples are found in the Pāṇḍya country. Most probably they were excavated between the 7th and 9th c. A.D.²

STRUṬURAL TEMPLES : A number of epigraphs mention the construction of a structural stone temple at Kāṭṭāṭṭi about 1000 ft. to the north-west of Madurai, during the reign of Vīra Paṇḍya³ who took the title of the Cōla⁴. Vīra Paṇḍya was a contemporary of the Cōla kings Sumatira Cōla and Ananta II. Kakkaiṁḍi may be said to have reigned in about 946 A.D. At least three records are a Vatteḷuttu. One of the above records written in the angel script in verse⁵ states that the Śiva temple called Śrīkaṇṭheśvara at this place was built in stone by the chief of the *temple* *laṅkāvēl*. The record also refers to some one who had acquired *arāḍhā* in the six *darśanas*, the three kinds of Tamil, Sanskrit works, works on poetry, the *pūrnas* and the intricacies of Paṇḍya's *yoga* system. The two other records dated in the 4th + 5th year of the king and in the 5th + 6th year are connected epigraphs on clay but the temple was built for the god at Tirumāṭṭi.

1. Ibid. p. 120.

2. List of rock-cut temples in the Pāṇḍya country.—

Madurai District: Anaṁbāṭṭi, Turupparankunram, Kōṇattur, Arṅṅapattā, Kōṇṇad District: Kūṇṇakkudi, Tirukkalakkudi, Pillāyarpattā, Mahipalaṅṅamālā, Tirottangal, Piraṁmaṇṇi, Sevalpattā, Tirumālā.

Tirunelveli District: Tirumalapuram, Malaiyadakkuricci, Virasāḷṅṅamālā, Vadikkottai, Kaluṅṅamālā.

Pudukkottai (former State): Devamālā, Malayakkovil, Tirumayam, Sittanṅṅavai.

3. M.E.R. 624-626 of 1926.

4. M.E.R. 626 of 1926.

5. M.E.R. 1927 pt. II, para 38.

and that certain arrangements were made for the conduct of worship in the temple. The three records were stated to have been found engraved on the base of the north, west and south walls of the central shrine when copied by the Epigraphy Department in 1926, but as the whole temple has been rebuilt recently many of these 10th century inscribed Vattiyuttu slabs had been indiscriminately used up in the reconstruction. Only a few slabs could now be seen inside a recently constructed wall also on the wall and basement of one of the shrines (fig 13). The only survival perhaps of the ancient structure are the few beautiful but weather-worn images of *dhārapālitas* Dakṣiṇamurti, Lingaṭhaya, Bhairava, Surya and other icons¹.

1 These are dealt with in chapter X sections B & C.

CHAPTER V

MADURAI UNDER THE COLAS

Madurai country which had known no other sovereign except the Pāṇḍya kings experienced, for the first time perhaps, a change when it came under the sway of the Cōlas early in the 10th c. A.D.

Soon after his accession, the Cōla Parāṇṭaka 1 (907-55 A.D.) had invaded the Pāṇḍya country as early as 910 A.D. and assumed the title "Maduraikeṇḍa" (capturer of Madurai).¹ The subjugation of the Pāṇḍyas was a gradual and difficult process which involved much fighting and absorbed many years. Parāṇṭaka's conquest of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was effected only by about 920 A.D.² Since that for nearly three centuries from the early years of the 10th c. (920 A.D.) to the beginning of the 13th c. A.D. Madurai was practically under the Cōla sway.

Towards the end of Parāṇṭaka's reign there was trouble in the Cōla country due to the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛtā III. The Pāṇḍyas took this opportunity to throw off the Cōla yoke and make a short reversion under Vira Pāṇḍya "who took the head of the Cōla" (c. 940-66 A.D.). Gaṅgārājya (c. 944-50 to 957 A.D.) was probably the Cōla king defeated by Vira Pāṇḍya who had also the surnames Cōlāntaka³ and Pāṇḍumattāṅga.⁴ Mahmas IV the ruler of Ceylon was an ally of Vira Pāṇḍya. Both Parāṇṭaka Saṅḍara Cōla (c. 956-73 A.D.) and his son Āḍava II Kaṇṭaka (c. 956-69 A.D.) claim to have defeated this Pāṇḍya king. The Levee grant says that Āḍava, while yet a boy, played with Vira Pāṇḍya in the battle.⁵ Parāṇṭaka Saṅḍara Cōla had the titles "Maduraiāntaka"⁶ and "Pāṇḍya-mattāṅga-rāṣṭaka"⁷, "who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest"⁸ and was probably identical with Maṇṭakapṇḍya Rājakesari.⁹

1. M.E.R. 44 of 1917 dated in his 24th year, is the earliest inscription of Parāṇṭaka 1 in the Pāṇḍya country.

2. M.E.R. 65 of 1896, 423 of 1914.

3. M.E.R. 233 and 238 of 1933.

4. E.I., Vol. XXI, no. 25, 26.

5. M.E.R. 139 of 1907.

6. M.E.R. 291 and 302 of 1908.

7. K. A. N. Sankarā Śastry: *The Cōlas*, 2nd edition, p. 143.

Sundara Cōla defeated Vira Pāṇḍya in the battle of Cēvūr¹. After this defeat Vira Pāṇḍya was probably forced to flee and seek refuge in the forest². Since the title "*Pāṇḍyanāṇḍi-cūram-śaktina*" is found in an epigraph of Sundara Cōla dated in his seventh year³, it may be inferred that the battle of Cēvūr must have occurred sometime earlier. The Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates⁴ state that Ādiya II killed Vira Pāṇḍya. It is not clear whether this is a mere boast and whether Ādiya who might have participated in the battle of Cēvūr inflicted another defeat on the Pāṇḍya later on. Anyway, from the fact that the incidence of Cōla epigraphs in the Pāṇḍya country, again occurs only from the time of Rājārāja I, it may be seen that the Cōlas were not able to make much headway in spite of the many defeats they claim to have inflicted on the Pāṇḍyas. In fact Rājārāja in his *Mekirtis* claims to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas even when they were still powerful and illustrious.

Sundara Cōla's son Rājārāja I (985-1014 A.D.), the great imperialist subdued the Pāṇḍyas and established Cōla power in the Madurai country. Early in his reign he undertook a southern expedition against the Pāṇḍyas and Keralas who were probably allies. It might have taken him several years as well as several campaigns for the complete subjugation of the Pāṇḍyas. The earliest record of Rājārāja so far known in the Pāṇḍya country is dated in his eighth year⁵. The Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates which give a detailed account of the king's southern conquests⁶ state that he captured Madurai and subjugated the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujanga whose identity, however is not clear. In his *Mekirtis* beginning "*Tirumagaipōla*," Rājārāja boasts, that he conquered the Pāṇḍyas and deprived them of their splendour when they were still illustrious and flourishing in all their glory. This indicates that the Pāṇḍyas were quite powerful at

1. The Karandai plates, vv. 24-25 referred to in K.A. Velankanni Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 154, The Leiden grant E.I. Vol. XXII, vv. 25, 28.

2. The Karandai plates (vv. 24-25) state that Vira Pāṇḍya was defeated at Cēvūr and forced to climb the peaks of the Sahayadris for refuge.

3. M.E.R. 291 of 1903.

4. Verses 47 and 78.

5. The Darasimamkoppu record. I.A.S. Vol. I, 238.

6. Verses 76-79.

the time of their defeat by the imperial Cōla. Numerous inscriptions of Rājārāja occur in the Pāṇḍya country ranging from the eighth to the twentieth years of his reign¹.

The Pāṇḍyas seem to have continued to rule in a rather subordinate position. Rājārāja appears to have established with a firm hand Cōla sovereignty over the Pāṇḍya country. Under him the very name of the Pāṇḍya country came to be changed to "Rājārājamāṇḍalam" and "Rājārāja Pāṇḍināḍu"². Even sub-divisions were called Rājārājavāṇḍu³ and Pāṇḍvakūṣāvalarāṇḍu⁴. During his campaigns against Ceylon between the 17th and 20th years of his reign, Rājārāja appears to have used the Pāṇḍya country as a base of operations⁵.

Rāṇendra I (1012-1044 A.D.), the son and successor of Rājārāja I, inherited the Pāṇḍya kingdom as a part of the extensive empire built up by his father. In about the 6th year of his reign (1017-18 A.D.) Rājendra led a successful expedition to Ceylon and brought back the crown and the garland of Indra and other jewels which the Pāṇḍya Rājāsmita II had previously left behind in Ceylon. Ceylon became a Cōla province.

An inscription of Rāṇendra's third year⁶ records a gift by the queen of a Pāṇḍya king named Śrīvanavan. Though the identity of this Pāṇḍya is not clear, it shows that the Pāṇḍyas still continued in a subordinate position. But soon afterwards they seem to have proved refractory, so that Rājendra had to wage war against them and appoint a viceroys over the Madurai country to keep the Pāṇḍyas under effective control. This expedition appears to have been undertaken in about the sixth or seventh year of Rājendra. The Tiruvāṇḍāḍu plates⁷ referring to Rājendra's success, state that the defeated Pāṇḍya fled for refuge to the Malaya mountain and

1. M.E.R. 80 of 1910 from Alagarkoil is dated in his 21(2)nd year.

2. M.E.R. 1917 pt. II, para 2.

3. M.E.R. 332 of 1923.

4. M.E.R. 455 of 1903 and 672 of 1909.

5. J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 523-24.

6. M.E.R. 46 of 1907.

7. Verses 89-97.

that Rājendra appointed his own son, Śrī Cōla-Pāṇḍya, for the protection of the Pāṇḍya country. The last statement is confirmed by an epigraph of the tenth year of Rājendra I which states that the king established his own son in Madurai as a viceroy with the title Cōla-Pāṇḍya and that Rājendra built a huge palace at Madurai. When the Keralas were defeated soon afterwards the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy appears to have been placed in charge of the Kerala country also. The practice of Cōla viceroys ruling over Pāṇḍya country with the title Cōla-Pāṇḍya started from this time. These viceroys appear to have enjoyed almost regal status and maintained close contact with the imperial headquarters. But at the same time the Pāṇḍyas also seem to have continued to rule, though in a subordinate manner. Probably the simultaneous rule by several Pāṇḍyan kings and princes over various regions of the kingdom originated about this same period.

Of the available Cōla Pāṇḍya epigraphs the largest number belong to Jātāvarman Sundara-Cōla Pāṇḍya the son of Rājendra I¹. He appears to have ruled as viceroy for about 73 years. An inscription of his 30th (3rd) year from Ātur in Tinnevely² mentions a regiment called 'Sundara-Sōlapāṇḍya-terindapalanaval'. Jātāvarman Sundara-Cōla Pāṇḍya probably continued as viceroy in the early years of Rājādhiraja I (1018-54 A.D.), who succeeded Rājendra I. The system of Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys started by Rājendra I was continued by his sons Rājādhirāja (1018-1054 A.D.), Rājendradēva II (1052-64 A.D.), and Virarājendra (1063-69 A.D.)³.

In the historical introductions of Rājendradēva II's inscriptions (1052-1064 A.D.) he is stated to have conferred on his younger brother Mummadi Sōlan the title Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Virarājendra (1063-1069 A.D.) is stated to have conferred on his son Gangaikonda Cōla the

1. M.E.R. 363 of 1917. From M.E.R. 112 of 1905 it may be inferred that Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya was appointed viceroy about the sixth or seventh year of Rājendra.

2. Rājendra had several sons. It is not clear which son was appointed as the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy.

3. M.E.R. 395 of 1930.

4. M.E.R. 99 of 1924, 333 of 1930.

5. M.E.R., 1917 pt II pp 107-8, 5.1 I. Vol III, p. 62.

Pāṇḍumandalam and the title *Colā-Pāṇḍya*¹. An inscription from Siermadēvi² refers to a certain Jātavarman Śōḷa-Pāṇḍya as the son of Virarājendra Cōla and mentions his palace at Rājendraśōḷapuram. He is evidently the prince Gaṅgaikondā-Cōla mentioned above. Inscriptions of the period speak of several other Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas such as Jātavarman Vira Sola Pāṇḍya³, Māravarman Vikrama Śōḷa Pāṇḍya⁴ and Sundara-śōḷa Pāṇḍya who had palaces at Māḍakkulak, El Madurai and Rājendraśōḷapuram and who refers evidently to the Cōḷa emperor as his uncle (*amman*)⁵. The identity of these Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas is not clear at present.

The Pāṇḍyas could not reconcile themselves to their political subordination by the Cōḷas. Whenever there was an opportunity they tried to rebel and overthrow the Cōḷa yoke. The Kēraḷas and the kings of Ceylon often came to their aid in the struggle against the Cōḷas. Even in the later years of the reign of Rājendra I there was a joint rebellion by the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras and Singalese against the Cōḷas. Rājendra's son and heir apparent Rājadhīrāja undertook an extensive southern campaign to suppress this. His inscriptions speak of his success and the defeat of the three allied kings of the south (*Tennavar*, viz. Mānabharana, Virakēraḷa and Sundara Pāṇḍya⁶). Though *Tennavar* generally means the Pāṇḍyas, it perhaps refers in his particular context to the three allied kings of the south, viz., the Pāṇḍya, the Kēraḷa and the Singalese kings⁷. Sundara Pāṇḍya appears to be the Pāṇḍya ruler and possibly the leader of the coalition. Mānābharana was perhaps the king of Ceylon⁸. In a Ceylon expedition undertaken after the death of Rājendra, Rājādhīrāja is said to have captured four Ceylonese rulers, one of whom was Vikrama Pāṇḍya. The Cōḷa epigraphs state that Vikrama had taken refuge in Ceylon after having lost the whole of the

1. S.I.I. Vol. III, No. 20 ; E.I. Vol. XI, p. 293.

2. M.E.R. 642 of 1916.

3. M.E.R. 99 of 1924.

4. M.E.R. 393 of 1930.

5. M.E.R. 327, 332 & 619 of 1916.

6. S.I.I. Vol. III, No. 28, p. 56.

7. K.A. Neelakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 243, n. 141.

8. *Vide* S.I.I., Vol. III, No. 29, line 13.

southern Tamil country"¹. The *Mahāvamsa*² on the other hand states that Vikrama Pāṇḍya was a Ceylonese prince who had taken refuge in the Dala country for some time. Since the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese had close political and dynastic connections at that time, it is difficult to decide at present whether Vikrama Pāṇḍya was a Pāṇḍya or Ceylonese prince.

An inscription of the first year of Vīra Rājendra (1063-67 A.D.) mentions the death of a Vīra Kuloṭunga son of the Pāṇḍya king.³ There is no other Pāṇḍya inscription known.

During the period of confusion in the Cōla country of the reign of Vīra Rājendra, the Pāṇḍyas were permitted to regain independence and Kulōtunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) had to subdue them again. After many prolonged and sustained campaigns in the Pāṇḍya country Kulōtunga I was able to reassert Cōla suzerainty over the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The campaigns against the Pāṇḍyas were undertaken between the seventh and eleventh years of his reign. A record of the fifth year of Kulōtunga⁴ contains a vague reference to a Pāṇḍya king beheaded by him. Kulōtunga is said to have defeated the five Pāṇḍyas⁵ whose names are not given. The tradition remains obscure. It is said that Kulōtunga fixed the boundaries of the southern (Pāṇḍya) country.⁶ The *Kulōtungaśāhan Pillāttam* mentions also a battle of Śempamāra (Ramanathapuram).⁷

The Cōlas found it increasingly difficult to maintain their sway over the Pāṇḍyas. The system of Cōla-Pāṇḍya relations had apparently been given up and Kulōtunga found it impossible to connect with the old administrative arrangements established in former times (*naluppadai*) at strategic points in the Pāṇḍya country. The numerous inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings, at the time of Kulōtunga I

1. S.I.L., Vol. III, p. 36.

2. Geiger *Cālanvamsa*, vv. 11-14.

3. S.I.L., Vol. III, No. 20.

4. S.I.L., Vol. III, No. 68.

5. An undated Sanskrit inscription from Cīvaṁbharām. F.I. Vol. V, pp. 103-4, S.I.L., Vol. I pp. 168-9; S.I.L., Vol. III, p. 147; *Kalngat upparani* XL, vv. 70-72.

6. S.I.L., Vol. III, p. 147.

7. *Vēṇṇi* 10.

show very few signs of their political subjection to the Colas, and the provenance of Cola epigraphs in the Pāṇḍya country also begins to diminish considerably. Hardly any Cola inscription is found in the Pāṇḍya country after the reign of Kulōttunga's son¹.

The Pāṇḍya epigraphs of the period gave the names of a number of Pāṇḍya kings ruling over Madurai during the period when Cola sway over Madurai was weakening and the Pāṇḍyas were beginning to reassert themselves once again. A Jātavarman Śrīvallabha seems to have reigned for about 23 years with real power. He appears to have begun his rule sometime after Kulōttunga's accession and subject of the Pāṇḍya country. The historical introductions of his inscriptions begin with the words "*Tirumagaṇḍarayan Javamaṇḍan*". In his epigraphs there are references to the heroes *Pāṇḍya* and *Kalugatarayan* in the halls of the palace at Madurai to the east of Marakkuram², to a royal prince Pillavār Sandara Pāṇḍya³, to royal officers⁴, coins such as *dramma*⁵ irrigation works and improvements⁶ and to grain measures⁷.

Jātavarman Śrīvallabha appears to have been succeeded by Maṅgavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya whose eulogies begin with "*Tirumagaṇḍa punara*." The next Pāṇḍya king seems to have been a Jātavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya who is known so far by only one epigraph from Kanyākumari, beginning with the words "*Tirumagaṇḍarayan*" dated in the ninth regnal year⁸. It states that he defeated the Colas, took Kalam of Telanga, Bijima and South Kalinga. Probably these conquests were effected by this Pāṇḍya as a subordinate of Vikrama Cola. Then there is mention of a Maṅgavarman Śrīvallabha with a eulogy commencing "*Pāṇḍyaṇ Javamaṇḍa*". Vikrama Varman of Travancore was his tributary. Śrīvallabha's epigraphs

1. M.F.R. 322, 324, 325 of 1908, 393 of 1917, 555 of 1922, 619 of 1926, 266 of 1928, 6 of 1929, I.P.S. 243.

2. M.F.R. 493 of 1909, 277 of 1928, 97, of 1930.

3. Kalugatarayan (M.F.R. 6 of 1894, Kalugataraya, M.E.R. 310 of 1908), Mahabharatamar galatta Ayvaṇ. M.F.R. 6 of 1929.

4. M.E.R. 323 of 1908, 39 of 1929.

5. M.E.R. 324 of 1908, M.E.R. 1909, pt. II para 23.

6. M.E.R. 1909, pt. II, para 23.

7. T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 18 ff.

mention a Pillaiyar Kulasekhara who is most probably identical with Kulasekhara who figures in a civil war in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the second half of the twelfth century.

The story of the Pāṇḍyan succession war has to be pieced together from the account of the *Mahāvamsa*¹ and from several Cōla chronographs.² Towards the close of the reign of the Cōla Rajarāja II (1116-73 A.D.) a fierce succession dispute broke out between Parākrama Pandya of Madurai and Kulasekhara. Besieged by Kulasekhara Parākrama appealed for help to the Ceylonese ruler Parākramabāhu (1133-86 A.D.) But before the Ceylon army could come to his aid, Kulasekhara had taken Madurai and killed Parākrama and his wife and children. The king of Ceylon ordered his general Lankapura Daṇḍanātha to continue the war against Kulasekhara, and bestow the Pāṇḍya crown on a prince of the family of Parākrama. Accordingly Lankapura carried on the war on behalf of Parākrama's son Vira Pāṇḍya, who had fled to the Malaya mountains. Obviously the Singhalese general found the task to be more difficult than he had anticipated and had to send for reinforcements to Ceylon and placate the local Tamil chiefs with presents and honours.

He had to wage many fierce contests against Kulasekhara in the Madurai, Ramanad, Pudukkōṭṭa, and also the Tinnevely districts. Kulasekhara's cause was supported by his uncle in Kongu,³ as well as by the Cōla king. The *Mahāvamsa*⁴ says that Kulasekhara and the Cōla army under Paravarāvar were defeated at Klenilava⁵ and then, after another defeat inflicted on Kulasekhara at Pon Amarāvati,

1. Geiger, *Ceylonese*, chapters 76 and 77.

2. M.E.R. I 20 of 1899, 465 of 1905, 433 of 1924, 261 of 1925.

3. M.E.R. 336 of 1928 from Nerur is a record of the Kongu chief Kulottunga Cōla. It states that the king made to his *paratus* a *patra dāna* before he started on an expedition to Madurai to recover the kingdom for his nephew *marumagan* (maradeva). This evidently refers to Kulasekharadeva who fought against Parākrama in the Pāṇḍyan succession war. The *Mahāvamsa* also states that Kulasekhara received reinforcements from the Kongu country which belonged to his maternal uncles, M.E.R. 1899, pt. II, para 24, S.I.T.I II, No. 719.

4. Geiger, *Ceylonese*, chap. 77, v. 85.

5. Modern Kūṇḍai in Tirupattur taluk of the Ramanad district.

Lankāpura handed over the government of the Pāṇḍya kingdom to Vīra Pāṇḍya who had already been crowned king. The *koḥāpana*, the coin of Parākramabāhu, was introduced and Lankāpura sent to Ceylon a vast booty. This account of the *Mahāvamsa* is rather one-sided and incomplete. While Lankāpura might have scored initial successes, not without difficulty, his final reverses are not mentioned.

Kulaśēkhara appealed to the Cōla king for help in regaining his throne. An inscription from Pallavarāṇpēṭṭar¹ states that the Cōla general defeated the Singhalese, reconquered the Pāṇḍya kingdom and carried out the Cōla king's orders to the letter, nailing the heads of Lankāpura Daṇḍanāvaka and others to the gates of Madurai. These facts are not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*. Kulaśēkhara then re-entered Madurai.

The Cōlas then supported the cause of one Śrīvallabha, a nephew of Parākramabāhu, as a rival claimant to the Ceylon throne and invaded Ceylon. Finding that his support of Vikrama Pāṇḍya's cause had proved too costly and detrimental, Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, changed sides and allied with Kulaśēkhara, whom he recognised as the king of Madurai. This treacherous move of Kulaśēkhara who sided with the Ceylonese enemy against whom the Cōla was fighting, forced the Cōla king to change his policy.

A record of the 12th year of Rājadhrāja² gives an account of the events which followed. It states that Kulaśēkhara in alliance with the Ceylonese, drove the Ēḷagattār and the Maṇava *amanṭar*³, who were in the service of the Cōla king, to the north of the river Veḷāṇṇa. He also removed the beheaded heads of the Ceylonese generals which were nailed to the gates of Madurai. Under the Cōla king's orders, his general, Annan Pallavarāyan, turned out Kulaśēkhara and installed Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, as the ruler of Madurai.

1. M. E. R. 433 of 1924 dated in the eighth year of Rājadhrāja.

2. M. E. R. 465 of 1905.

3. This is obviously a reference to some sections of the troops.

The whole course of the civil war up to the installation of Vira Pāṇḍya may be placed roughly between 1169 A.D. and 1177 A.D.¹

Soon after the accession of Kulōttunga III in 1178 A.D. the civil war was renewed. Vira Pāṇḍya who had been reinstated with Cōla help soon changed sides and joined with Parākramabāhu the king of Ceylon, and with the ruler of Venāḍ also perhaps Vikrama Pāṇḍya a relative of Kulagēkhara who had probably died in the interval, sought the help of Kulōttunga III against Vira Pāṇḍya. The Cōlas invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom, defeated the Pāṇḍya and Singhalese troops, drove Vira Pāṇḍya into exile and handed over Madurai and the throne to Vikrama Pāṇḍya.² These events probably happened by about 1182 A.D.

A few years later in about 1189 A.D. Kulōttunga III had to wage a second war against the Pāṇḍyas.³ The exiled Vira Pāṇḍya, with the help of his allies made another attempt to regain the throne. The Cōlas defeated him at Nettūr in about 1189 A.D. Vira Pāṇḍya fled to Ceylon and thence to Travancore. Soon both the Venāḍ king and Vira Pāṇḍya submitted to Kulōttunga. Vira Pāṇḍya's life was spared and he appears to have been rewarded with some land, jewels and other gifts.⁴

A third successful campaign into the Pāṇḍya territory was undertaken by Kulōttunga in about his 29th regnal year, when Jaṭavarman Kulagēkhara (1190-1223 A.D.), was ruling in Madurai. But it was soon followed by a signal defeat at the hands of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I from which time onwards the Pāṇḍya supremacy was irrevocably established.

The Cōla sway over the Pāṇḍya country, though it lasted for nearly three centuries seems to have been mainly concerned with keeping under control the Pāṇḍyas who frequently rebelled and

1. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

2. M.E.R. 1 of 1899, 458, 547 of 1902.

3. M.E.R. 458 of 1902 dated in the eleventh year and 66 of 1892 dated in the 1910 year of Kulōttunga furnish details about this campaign.

4. "Pada valangi mudai valangi." Vide S.I.I., Vol III, No. 88¹ 15.

schemed to overthrow the Cōla suzerainty. Under these circumstances the Cōlas could not make any noteworthy contribution to the material progress of the country. The Pāṇḍyas too who could not reconcile themselves to a subordinate position were more concerned with searching for opportunities to put an end to Cōla domination. Thus there was really no union of the two kingdoms and for nearly three centuries the progress of the country was in a state of suspended animation while the rival rulers were carrying on a struggle for mastery.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND PANDYAN EMPIRE

A. POLITICAL HISTORY

The end of Cōla suzerainty marked also the end of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. The Pāṇḍyas began to recover rapidly and a series of powerful rulers began to rule over Madurai and what may be termed the Second Pāṇḍyan Empire (roughly 12th to 14th c. A.D.). During this period the Pāṇḍyan kingdom reached its widest extent.

One of the earliest rulers of this period was Jaṭavarman Kuḷasekhara (120-223 A.D.), probably the son and successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya who was supported by Kulōttunga III during the Pāṇḍyan Civil War. Kuḷasekhara's inscriptions are found in the Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Ponnivelly districts¹. His eulogies usually begin "Pāṇḍya Aditya". In his panegyric at Māṇḍakkulikkil Madurai, there were three temples called *Maṭṭavarḍya* and *Kāṭṭingarayan*². The king's brother-in-law was Kaṭṭu Ravivarmān. The *Irappūvaṇam* plates erected at Rāṇḍanathāra (Chinnēvāṇṇam) village were issued during the 25th regnal year of Kuḷasekhara. Towards the latter part of his reign³ Kuḷasekhara appears to have been defeated by Kulōttunga III who then performed *virābhūṭaka* in Madurai city⁴. This conquest might be assigned to about the year 1205 A.D.

Kulōttunga by his repeated expeditions had kept the Pāṇḍyas in subordination. He carried on his campaigns in a ruthless and uncompromising manner destroying almost every vestige of Pāṇḍyan

M.E.R. 607 of 122, 613 of 192, 80 of 129, 275, 279 of 1930 and 243 of 1942 from Madurai, 341 of 1922, 33 of 1924 and 29 of 1941 from Ramanathapuram and 502, 540, 550 of 1913, and 43, 435 of 1980 from Ponnivelly districts.

2. M.E.R. 14 of 1894, 340-350 of 1916, 543 of 1922, 236 of 1941.

3. M.E.R. 350 of 1904, 349 of 1914, 233 of 1917, I.P.S. 158, 163, 164, 166, 169, 173.

4. I.P.S. 163, a record of the 31st regnal year of Kulōttunga III, and I.P.S. 166 of the 34th year mention in detail the king's activities in the city of Madurai. Records of his 35th year (M.E.R. 339 of 1914, I.P.S. 169) and 40th year (M.E.R. 275 of 1914, I.P.S. 166) state that he performed *virābhūṭaka* and *ajyābhūṭaka* in Madurai.

...*pariāram-ila s. 109364*¹. From the account given in a Travēndi-
puram inscription dated 1231-32 A.D.² and the *Gadyabarnāmya*
of Kāṇakabhaṇḍa³ it may be inferred that these events probably took
place in about 1230-31 A.D.⁴ Rāparāja III fled from the capital and
was for some time held prisoner in Śendamaṅgaḥam by the Kāṇḍava
chief Rān Kōṇṇarūṇṇa. The intervention of the Hoysala Narasimha
II resulted in the release and restoration of the Cōla king.⁵ One of
Narasimha's titles was 'the establisher of the Cōla kingdom'.⁶

From now onwards Hoysala interference and influence in the
affairs of the South Indian kingdoms gradually increases. With
a view to increasing their royal influence they seem to have
adopted the strategy of increasing the power of one weaker power
as against a stronger one. When warring against the Pāṇḍyas,
the Hoysalas appear to have come to the aid of the Cōla king. The
Gadyabarnāmya states that Narasimha levied tribute from the
Pāṇḍya. There appears to have been a decisive battle between the
Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas at Mheḍamāṅgaḥam on the Kāvēri
in about 1232 A.D. Here Somesvara Pāṇḍya was defeated.⁷ This
was probably the reason why Somesvara Pāṇḍya was not able to annex
the Cōla kingdom. When peace was finally made between the
Pāṇḍyas, the Cōlas and the Hoysalas was sealed by many dynastic
marriages. Narasimha's son Vira Somesvara is referred to

1. M.E.R. 140 of 1894 of the 20th regnal year.

2. M.E.R. 142 of 1902.

3. Extract by MR. Kavira in *Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśvara*, vi, pp. 677-78.

4. M.E.R. 419 of 1914 dated S. 1152 from Tirumalai inscriptions (a date of
Jananatha (who refused to make obsequence' by Sundar). The record probably
relates to Sundara's campaign against the rebel Cōla. The term Jananatha
may stand for Rajaraja III.

5. M.E.R. 142 of 1902.

6. E.G. Vol. IV Nr. 29.

7. *Gadyabarnāmya*, M.E.R. 14 of 1938 from *Tirumalai-kavi* mentions Buogava
and Maṇḍava, two of Narasimha's *dandanayakas* who were sent against the Pāṇḍya and
who made a gift to Brahmans at Rameśwaram in 1237 A.D. A record dated 1237
A.D. (E.G. Krishnarajapet, 63) states that Somesvara was in the Pandimandam.

as *māma* or uncle by the successors of both Maṅavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Rājaraṇa III¹

The records of Maṅavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I mention thrones named *Maṅavarman* in palaces at Madurai² and Pon Amarāvati³, the king's officers such as Solan Uyyaningāḍuvān alias Gurukulataraivan⁴ and the court poet Kāraṇai Viḷupparavar⁵. The coin *Sōḷaḍukunḍā* was perhaps issued by Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Sundara Pāṇḍya was succeeded by Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśēkara II (acc. 1238 A.D. who had a short reign, and then by Maṅavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238-53 A.D.) whose eulogies begin with *pūṇnarasaṁ*. In 1238, the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas were on very friendly terms and Hoysala influence in Pāṇḍya affairs became a dominating factor. Sundara Pāṇḍya II refers to the Hoysala Vīra Sōmēśvara as his uncle⁶ (*māma*) and to the Kongu Cōla king Vikrama Cōla as his brother-in-law⁷. When Rājendra Cōla III invaded the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, Sōmēśvara intervened and defeated the Cōla. Sōmēśvara also took such titles as *pāṇḍya kulasamrakṣaka* and "who won Rājendra in battle"⁸. There were many Hoysala officers in the Pāṇḍya country too⁹. One of them conquered the Kānarāḍu¹⁰, and there is mention of another settling a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute in Polukkōṭṭai¹¹.

Sundara Pāṇḍya II's records mention many gifts to temples and for promotion of Vedic studies. There were thrones called *Maṅa-*

1 Both Maṅavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya call Sōmēśvara their *māma* or uncle.

2 M.E.R. 546 of 1922, 148 of 1906 and 77 of 1916.

3 M.E.R. 77 of 1916.

4 M.E.R. 62 of 1905, 549, 554 of 1922.

5 M.E.R. 75 of 1914.

6 M.E.R. 136 of 1894, 291 of 1930.

7 M.E.R. 132 of 1894.

8 E.C., Vol. V, No. 123.

9 M.E.R. 138 of 1894, 15 of 1912.

10 M.E.R. 387 of 1906.

11 M.E.R. 387, 392 of 1906; I.P.S. 340, 341.

varāyan, *Pallavarāyan* and *Tamiḻappallavarāyan*¹ in his palace at Madurai.

The next ruler was Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1251-71 A.D.) the greatest of the mediaeval Pāṇḍyas. Under him the Pāṇḍyan empire reached its widest extent and the height of its splendour. He rapidly extended the Pāṇḍyan sway up to Nellore and Cuddapah in the north and to Ceylon in the south.

Sundara Pāṇḍya defeated the Cōlas, Keraḷas and Hoysalas, and took Kongu and Ceylon. The Hoysalas were confined to the Mysore plateau. One record says that he made his younger brother Vira Pāṇḍya the viceroy of Konkana Rājya². Sundara also defeated the Pallavas Gaṇḍagōpāla, the Bāṇas, the Kādava, Kopperuṇḍiōga and the Kākaiya Gaṇapati. Under him Kāñci became almost a secondary Pāṇḍya capital. Both in his wars and in administrative work Sundara Pāṇḍya was helped by other princes of the royal family such as Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya (acc. 1253 A.D.) who undertook an expedition to Ceylon between 1262 and 1264 A.D.³ Sundara assumed many titles such as "*Emmanḍalanum konḍaruṭira*" and "*Ellāntalavāṇḍan*" and performed *vīṛbhūṣaṅkas* and *mayyābhūṣaṅkas* and *tuḷābhūṣaṅkas* at many places like Cidambaram, Śrīraṅgam, Kāñci and Nellore. His eulogies begin with *Samasta Jagadādharā*⁴ in Sanskrit and *pūmālar vaṭar*⁵ in Tamil. Long Sanskrit epigraphs of his occur in many of the important South Indian temples such as those at Śrīraṅgam, Tinnevely, Cidambaram, Kāñci and others. In these the king's prodigious activities, his military prowess, and his liberal grants to temples and *maṭhas* are recorded. He gilded halls and walls in the Cidambaram and Śrīraṅgam temples, made liberal gifts to these and other temples⁶, built the *Kōyil Ponmāyadaperumāl mandapa* in Alagarkōyil temple, instituted many special festivals in his name and issued coins with the legend "*Ellāntalavāṇḍan*" probably he built or completed the eastern *Gōpura* of the Madurai temple.

M.E.R. 32 of 1894, 524 of 1922, 283, 297 of 1930.

2. M.E.R. 81 of 1932.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Ceylon Expedition of Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya* (*Proceedings of the Eighth Asiatic India Oriental Conference*, pp. 508-16).

4. M.E.R. 24 of 1891-89 of 1939.

5. M.E.R. 166 of 1894.

6. M.E.R. 45 of 1891.

Many *maṭhas* were built during his reign. He also carried out reform in the administration of the Śrīrangam temple¹.

Three years before his death he made Mājavarmān Kulaśēkhara the heir-apparent. Mājavarmān Kulaśēkhara I (1268 to 1310 A.D.) had a long reign of about 42 years. He had the title "Tiger of the Cōlas" and his eulogy begins with *iṣṭpōl*. Kulaśēkhara was also a powerful ruler and the extent of the kingdom was maintained fairly intact, but the later years of his reign were a period of trouble. There were many foreign visitors to the kingdom in his reign and their writings form a useful source for the history of this period. The Venetian Marco Polo and the Muslim Wassaf visited the Pāṇḍya country. They state that five brothers² were ruling the kingdom of Maabar or the Pāṇḍya country. Epigraphs also speak of several Pāṇḍyas ruling probably as sub-kings or co-regents along with Kulaśēkhara. Some of them were Jaṭavarmān Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1276 A.D.), Mājavarmān Vikrama Pāṇḍya (acc. 1283 A.D.) and Jaṭavarmān Vira Pāṇḍya (acc. 1283 A.D.). There are references to several conquests by Kulaśēkhara including that of Ceylon.

Early in his reign Kulaśēkhara led a successful expedition against the Travancore country. This was evidently the reason for his assumption of the titles "*Serañaiṇra*"³ and "*Kollam-konda*". Kulaśēkhara defeated both the Hoysala Rāmanātha and his ally Rājendra Cōla III in about 1279 A.D.⁴ An epigraph of the 11th year⁵ states that Kulaśēkhara conquered Malaiṇḍu, Sōṇḍu, the two Kongus, Ilam (Ceylon) and Tondaimaṇḍalam. Taking advantage of the famine at the end of the reign of Ceylonese king Bluvanakabāh I Kulaśēkhara sent his minister Ariyakaravarai to Ceylon. The island was conquered and the Tooth Relic of Buddha was carried

1. M.E.R. 84, 89 of 1939.

2. Wassaf says that this happened at the close of 709 H., i.e., about May-June, 1310 A.D. Elliot and Dowson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, pp. 49-50.

3. M.E.R. 126 of 1907.

4. M.E.R. 24 of 1927 says that Kulaśēkhara built a *prākāra* wall at the Tinnai temple with the booty he had collected after defeating the Kerala, Cōla and the Hoysala kings.

5. M.E.R. 698 of 1916.

away to the Pāṇḍya country¹. For about twenty years Ceylon remained a part of the Pāṇḍya empire. The next ruler of Ceylon Parākramabāhu III had to employ much persuasion and go on a personal mission to the court of Kulaśēkhara to recover the Tooth Relic. It was only during the civil war after Kulaśēkhara's death that Ceylon regained her independence.

Kulaśēkhara also appears to have maintained diplomatic relations with China². In the later years of his reign troubles started probably due to a weakening of central control over the various rulers.

The last years of Kulaśēkhara's reign were clouded by the intrigues and quarrels of his two sons Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya. Vira Pāṇḍya was more heir apparent by Kulaśēkhara though he was only an illegitimate son. Sundara Pāṇḍya became jealous, and murdered his father Kulaśēkhara and tried to seize the throne. Then followed a struggle between the two sons. In 1310 A.D. Vira Pāṇḍya defeated Sundara who fled to the south to get Madurai against his brother. With the assassination of Kulaśēkhara the Pāṇḍyas began to decline in power rapidly.

This ended a glorious chapter in Pāṇḍya history when Pāṇḍyan emperors had extended its control over many dynasties such as the Chōlas, the Keralas, the Kongas, the Hoysalas, the Kākaiyas and others, and even over the island of Ceylon.

B ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

The system of administration during the period of the Second Pāṇḍyan Empire seems to have been more or less the same as that followed during the centuries immediately preceding it. The king was helped by royal princes³ and by ministers⁴ in the work of

1. Kulasekhara's conquest of Ceylon is confirmed by the account of the *Mahābhārata Mahānirvāṇa*, xi, Turnour and Wijetunja tr., pp. 34-5.

2. Yule and Cordery, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 331, 337, 37.

3. M.E.R. 235 of 1914 a record of Maravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I says the *Pillaiyār* son² Anṣapparama¹ determined the loaded interest of the country amicably, 309 of 1926, I.P.S. 327.

4. M.E.R. 9 of 1932-265 and 280 of 1942 mention Kulaśekhara Uṭṭarama¹, also Kulaśekharaṇḍevan the Arayan of Perumamaṇḍu in Aṇḍanāḍu.

There are references to various administrative offices such as *śrīmadura-ślai*,¹ *varai-ślā*,² *śrīmadura-tinakkala nāyagam*,³ the *taṅkaṭṭi* office⁴, and *varippottāga nāyagam*.⁵ The officer *Śrīmadura-ślai* or *ślai* as he was sometimes called, was a member of the *śrīmadura-ślai nāyagam* which was the department in charge of taking down the orders of the king. The *śrīmadura tinakkala nāyagam* was obviously the Department of Land Revenue or the Department of Revenue Accounts. The *varippottāgam* was the section in charge of the Tax Register. *Varippottāganāyagam* was apparently the Department of *varippottāgam*. The officers of the revenue department were called *variyūḍi* (or *śrīmadura-ślā*).

The system of local administration by means of the *sabha* continued during this period and contributed to the efficient administration of the local areas. Some epigraphs contain interesting details about the activities of the *sabhas*. One epigraph records the grant of a village as *śrīvadāna* by the assembly of *Parāntaka Caturvēdīmangalam* in *Ārīnāḍi* for repairs to the temple at *Aḷagar*. *kōḍi* by *Iṣṭayavūḍi Dāsar*. There is reference to the executive committee (*nirādha sabhai*) of a village. In one case the assembly complained to the king about the improper action of some persons who had dug a subsidiary channel above the main channel called *Paṇḍhama Pāṇḍyan kōḍi*.

Many taxes and dues are mentioned in epigraphs of the period. Some of them are *kaḷamai*, *antardāyam* and *paṇḍupāḍi*. Not much is

1. M.E.R. 14 of 1932, 277 and 279 of 1942.

2. M.E.R. 60, 62 of 1905, 9 of 1932, 239, 265 of 1942.

3. M.E.R. 239, 243, 265 of 1942.

4. M.E.R. 338 of 1918.

5. M.E.R. 165 of 1903.

6. Dr T.V. Mahalingam *South Indian Polity*, p. 138. The term *ślai* means a palm leaf. In course of time it came to be used to denote a document ("nam *ślāyana kētopam tanna-manna*"), an office and an officer. For instance, the office of the *śrīmadura-ślai* department was also called *śrīmadura-ślai* or simply *ślai*.

7. M.E.R. 22 of 1932.

8. M.E.R. 449 of 1906.

9. M.E.R. 324 of 1908.

known at present about their exact nature. Particularly with regard to transactions pertaining to tax-free (*irayal*), gifts of land, the following set of taxes with some modifications, are invariably mentioned. — *Kadamai*, *antavayam*, *karpūṣamalai*, *ponṇari*, *vinuṭṭam*, *kāṇṭya dāṭṭai*, *veṭṭipattam*, *paṇṇuṭṭi*, *śāṇḍiagrahappēṭṭu*, *śāṇḍinappēṭṭu*, *ṭarai*, *sekkirai*, *ṭaṭṭalai*, *ṭaṭṭarappāṭṭam*, *iḍaiyar vari*, *ina vari*, *ṭṛumipāṭṭam*, *kōṇikkai*, *kāṭṭiṇṇai paccai*, *maṭṭam*, *appēṭṭaṭṭa iṭṭaṇṇum mutalagaṇṅakkal'iy... iṭṭaṇṇuṭṭi gakkuduttōm*¹. This form is especially noticeable in inscriptions of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century A.D. The rates of land tax seem to have varied according to the nature of the soil and crops raised².

Some records refer to the temple's share of *kadamai*³. There were different forms of land tenure⁴. On many occasions tax

1 Dr. F.V. Mahalingam *South Indian Polity*, pp. 143, 166, 175, 108, 191. The *kadamai* was the land revenue collected from wet lands and was generally paid in kind. The *antavayam* was a local tax payable in cash. The *karpūṣamalai* was evidently an import duty on camphor. The *ponṇari* was a tax payable in gold. *Vinuṭṭam* means distribution. It was a local tax distributed among all the people. The *veṭṭipattam* was a tax for labour. The *śāṇḍiagrahika* was a foreign Minister in charge of drafting the charters and epigraphs. The *śūpa* who were the actual engravers on stone or copper, worked under him in the same department. The term *śāṇḍiagrahappēṭṭu* is evidently some contribution for the upkeep of the department in charge of drawing up charters and epigraphs which occupied a prominent place in mediaeval Pāṇḍyan administration. The *śāṇḍinappēṭṭu* might have been some tax corresponding to the stamp duty levied now. Some of the taxes were in the nature of profession taxes. For instance *ṭarai* is evidently a tax on looms, i.e., weavers. Perhaps the tax *sekkirai* was paid by the oil merchants, the *ṭaṭṭarappāṭṭam* by the goldsmiths and the *iḍaiyar vari* by the shepherds or cowherds. The *ṭṛumipāṭṭam* was a tax paid by the fishermen. The *maṭṭam* was a communal tax. The *kāṭṭiṇṇai paccai* and *kōṇikkai* may have been contributions collected and distributed in temples and religious institutions. Since one of the meanings of *pū* is 'gold' *paṇṇuṭṭi* might have been some such tax on cotton yarn or cloth. The word *ṭaṭṭai* has several meanings such as the loft of house or a porter's wheel. The term *ṭaṭṭalai* was apparently a tax on potters.

2. M.E.R. 73 and 91 of 1924.

3. M.E. 409 of 1924, 39 of 1924, I.P.S. 254.

4. M.E.R. 66 of 1916 mentions a form of tenure called *kāṇṇipāṭṭam*; M.E.R. 1916 pt. II para 28; M.E.R. 291 of 1944 mentions a *Sakkai* *kāṇ* granted to a bard *Cāmpānar*.

remissions were made, for instance, on the occasion of a king's coronation¹ or when lands were sold up due to a sale agreement or a flood².

Canal and elaborate arrangements were made by the Pandyas for irrigation facilities. Tanks, canals and sluices were built and repaired by them³. Funds were set apart for maintenance and for repairs and grants were made for laying out streets⁴ and for building villages⁵.

There are references to various coins and statelands of medieval times. Among the numerous types of coins referred to are the following: *re dammas* (*gramam* ⁶, *duplas* ⁷ *Ann. ann* ⁸ *sd pan kdsu* ⁹ and the *padukkalgar* ¹⁰. Among the measures are mentioned the *pad nakkal* ¹¹, the grain measure *Vira Pandyan ka* ¹² the *Sandara Pandyan ka* ¹³, the *Vikrama Pandyan ka* ¹⁴, the *ruia* and *nan* ¹⁵ the *sd a na* ¹⁶ the *karatru* *sd a na* ¹⁷.

1. M.E.R. 80 of 1893 of the 22nd year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya II records the remission of certain taxes on the occasion of the king's coronation.

2. M.E.R. 289 of 1913.

3. M.E.R. 456 of 1906, 4 of 1909, 38 of 1914, 79 of 1920, 2 of 1930.

4. M.E.R. 491 of 1906 mentions the founding of a street named *Tirumala* *refpala* *kanda* *perumal* *teruvu* *vadu*.

5. M.E.R. 54 and 54 of 1922, 273, 275 and 276 of 1940, 24 of 1942 mentions the founding of a new village called *K. Sackra* *perumal* *teruvu* *vadu*.

6. M.E.R. 459 of 1909, 39 of 1929.

7. M.E.R. 136 of 1908.

8. M.E.R. 265 of 1928.

9. M.E.R. 185 of 1936.

10. M.E.R. 48 of 1890, 273 of 1942.

11. M.E.R. 40 of 1890, 276 of 1942.

12. M.E.R. 275 of 1930.

13. M.E.R. 156 of 1894.

14. M.E.R. 265 of 1942.

15. M.E.R. 59 of 1929.

16. M.E.R. 160 of 1894.

17. M.E.R. 159 of 1894.

Some records state that during the time of Māravarman Śaṅkara Pāṇḍa there was a change to the standards of measurement since the people were reduced in circumsizes and were in distress¹. The standard grain measure was changed from 6 *kalam* to 7 *kalam* and 3 *kaṇṇu* and the value of the *tanṇu* was increased from 5 *mā* to 7 *mā* 1 *kāṣu*. The old 18 span land measure was now changed to 20, 24 spans. The new land measure was called the *kūṭṭāṅg*.²

Merchant corporations of various types are also mentioned in medieval Pāṇḍyan epigraphs. These mercantile guilds had a strong corporate sense. They were often known as the *nagaratāṭṭi*, perhaps by reason of their association with the administration of cities or *nagaras*.³ Certain towns in the Madurai country appear to be the strongholds of such corporations. There is frequent mention of the *nagaratāṭṭi* of Deśappattanam alias Vikramasōlaparam (modern Vakkannur grant in Madurai district).⁴ The town appears to have been given the name *paṭṭanam* because of its connection with the colony of merchants. Two records call the town a Deśappattanam and Jayampati. Vikramasōlaparam.⁵ Jayampati is evidently a variation of the term *ayapaṭi* which is the name of a merchant guild. One record also mentions the *mudāṭṭu* of the town.⁶ Tittāṇḍa at a *paṭam* was another strong club of the mercantile corporations. Two records⁷ contain this place but is very interesting information about the names of the mercantile communities who resided here and the ancient names of this place which point to a long antiquity of the commercial concerns of this city. One of these mentions the

1. M.E.R. 73 of 1924; M.E.R. 1924, pt. II, para 31.

2. M.E.R. 174 of 1937.

3. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam: *South Indian Polity*, p. 394.

4. M.E.R. 15 of 1894, 613, 610 and 617 of 1926.

5. M.E.R. 15 of 1894, 617 of 1926.

6. M.E.R. 617 of 1926.

7. M.E.R. 590 & 603 of 1926, M.E.R. 18 of 1914 and 6 of 1917 of the time of Jayavarman Vira Pandya A.D. 1254 A.D. also mentions assemblies of merchants. M.E.R. 1917, pt. II paras 41, 46.

by the village officers and the *sabbā*. Only when the case was difficult to solve it was reported to the king and his officers. The ordeal of the ploughshare¹ was resorted to in some instances. Offenders against the temple were regarded as *Śivadrōhas* and those against the king and the country as *rājadrōhas* and *nāṭṭudrōhas*².

Regarding civil disputes, some epigraphs made reference to disputes over the right of worship in temples, distribution of *prādāna* and temple honours and privileges³. There are references to religious disputes⁴. Arbitration was largely used to settle civil disputes⁵.

LITERATURE The mediæval period was marked by a large output of philosophical works, commentaries, *purāṇas* and *prabhanda*. Scholars were greatly patronised by temples and *mathas* which began to take a prominent part in the educational system of the country. Perambargappuliyūr Nambā composed his *Tiruvālmudaiyār Tiruvālmudal* during this period. The *meṇṇṇṇ* of some of the Pāṇḍyan kings⁶ are good specimens of the poetical compositions of the period. Kings were liberal patrons of scholars. Mājavārman Sundara Pāṇḍya I's high regard for learning and men of letters is revealed by an inscription which states that after he conquered the Cōla he uprooted all the pillars in the Cōla palace excepting the screen which belonged to the *maṇḍapa* where *Pañṇinappala* of Kāṇṇan was first pre-

1. M.E.R. 372 of 1906.

2. M.E.R. 372 of 1906.

3. M.E.R. 467 of 1909, 108 of 1916, 571 of 1920.

4. M.E.R. 387 and 392 of 1906 and I.P.S. 340 and 341 record the settlement of a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute. K.R. Venkatarama Iyer *Manus of Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 648-649.

5. M.E.R. 380 of 1914; M.F.R. 1915, pt. II, para 32.

6. The eulogies of Jātavarman Kulasekhara beginning with "*Pūṭaśmadāndas*" "*Pūṭaśilāṇṇi*" and "*Pūṭaśeṇṇi*", the long introductions of Mājavārman Sundara Pāṇḍya I beginning "*Pūṇṇarāṇṇa tṛavāṇṇaṇṇayam*" those of Mājavārman Sundara Pāṇḍya II beginning "*Pūṇṇarāṇṇam*" and the rare Tamil eulogy "*Pūṇṇarāṇṇaṇṇi*" of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I are some of the Tamil *meṇṇṇ* of the Pāṇḍyas. There are also Sanskrit *meṇṇṇ* such as those of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I beginning "*Śaṇṇaśaṇṇaśaṇṇa*" and those of Mājavārman Viṭṭala Pāṇḍya beginning "*Śaṇṇaśaṇṇaśaṇṇa*".

sented for approval¹. There are references to the court poet Kā. p. Vīlupparaiyār² under this king. Libraries were maintained in temples³. There was promotion of Vēlaṅk and śāstric studies⁴.

SOME CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE MADURAI COUNTRY. The writings of foreign travellers such as the Venetian Marco Polo⁵ and of Muslim historians like Wassaf⁶ contain much information about mediaeval Madurai and the Pāṇḍya kingdom which was known to them as Ma'bar or Maabar. The Arabic term, Ma'bar means ferry or passage indicative of the facilities for trade obtainable in the Pāṇḍya country. Their accounts show that Madurai was the centre of a kingdom with a flourishing trade, both internal and external. Marco Polo describes at length the kingdom of Ma'bar, its ports such as Kaval, its pearl fisheries and trade in pearls and horses⁷, the royal court and the king's treasures. His writings contain many details about palace religion and social life of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya empire. Marco Polo says that "The great province of Ma'bar, is styled in India the Greater, it is best of all the Indies, this province is the finest and no less in the world. At this end of the province reigns one of those five Royal Brothers, who is a crowned king and his name is Sunder Band. Dayar (Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva). In his kingdom, they find very fine and great pearls. The king possesses vast treasures and wears upon his person garments of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great

1. M.F.R. 192 of 1934. A notice refers to the Śaṅgaṇ poet Kādivarai Rangan Kāṇḍaśāṅkār, the author of *Pattinappalai*, composed a poem in honour of Karkkai Cāla.

2. M.F.R. 75 of 1934, M.F.R. 1 of 1935 refer to a gift made by a chief of a poor Kōḍikkondin Periya Adichādevan for composing a poem. *Pilattikāri* and *śāstrakāri*, M.F.R. 246 of 1941 mentions a gift of land made by the *naganiṭṭar* of a temple at Tiru-māṇḍiyāḥ. Devanāgarī Paṇḍya Sertakkar as *paṇḍyanāṭṭar*.

3. M.E.R. 695 of 1916.

4. M.E.R. 258 of 1941.

5. Yule & Cordier, Ed. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 331 ff.

6. Elliot & Dowson. *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 24 ff.

7. Wassaf also refers to the flourishing horse trade of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Elliot & Dawson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 33-4.

8. Yule & Cordier. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 331.

equity and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city"¹

Horses appear to have been one of the chief imports into the Madurai country even as early as the Sangam age. Referring to the import of a great number of horses into the Pāṇḍya country, Marco Polo says, 'Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses. The reason why they want so many horses every year is that by the end of the year, they all die off'. Many feed their horses with boiled rice and boiled meat, and various other kinds of cooked food. That is the reason why all the horses die off."²

Wassaf also remarks on the prosperous trade of the Pāṇḍya country, thus: "The caravans of Chua (China) and Machon (Canton) and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from Irak and Khorasan as far as Rum (Turkey) and Europe are derived from Mabar which is so situated as to be the key of Hind."³ Wassaf states that Kales Dwar,⁴ the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country nor any severe malady afflicted him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth inasmuch, that in the treasury of the City of Marh (Madurai) there were 1,200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand lakhs, and every lak to one hundred thousand dinars. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoise and emeralds—more than is in the power of language to express."⁵

C. MADURAI AND MADAKKULAM IN THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

Madurai is frequently mentioned in inscriptions both Co. and Pāṇḍya, of the mediæval period. Such the material available does

1. Ibid. pp. 370-71

2. Yale & Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

3. Ibid. p. 343. Cf. Wassaf in Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.* Vol. III, pp. 33-34.

4. Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 32.

5. This refers to Maravarman Kulaickhara I.

6. Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.* III, p. 52.

not help one to get a connected picture of the city or the whereabouts of the palaces mentioned therein.

Cōla and Cōla-Pāṇḍya epigraphs throw some light on Cōla palaces in the region and on activities of Cōlas like Kulōttunga III in the Madurai city. A record of the tenth year of Rājendra Cōla I states that Rājendra constructed at Madurai a huge palace (*māligai*) and that he anointed his son as Cōla-Pāṇḍya¹. A record of Sundaracōla Pāṇḍya states that the king was at dinner in the *Siddharkūṭam* in his pleasure garden called *puttam* on the north side of Mādakkulaikkal Madurai and was seated on "Rājendracōla Atamūrkaccēri gurū"². Two records of the 31st and 34th years of Kulōttunga III give some details of the city of Madurai³. They mention the outer ramparts of the city and the *kūḍa-maṇḍapam* of the Pāṇḍyas⁴. After capturing the city of Madurai, the Cōla worshipped the God (*seṭṭaijuḍar*) at Tiruvālavāy and made various gifts to the temple. Further, the city of Madurai is stated to have been renamed Māḍakonḍaśōlapuram and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam as Sōla-Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. The Pāṇḍya king's *maṇḍapam* was inscribed with the name of the conqueror as "Sera-Pāṇḍyan Tamuraṭi."

Many Pāṇḍya inscriptions refer to the palace of the Pāṇḍyas, the many thrones⁵, halls⁶, gardens⁷, chambers⁸, and palace

1. M.E.R. 363 of 1917.

2. M.E.R. 332 of 1916.

3. I.P.S. 163 and 166.

4. Perhaps the audience or durbar hall.

5. There are references to the thrones called *Malararayan* (M.E.R. 13 and 149 of 1894, 82 of 1905, 459 of 1909, 340 and 550 of 1916, 549 of 1922, 275, 278, 279, 289 of 1934, 236 of 1934), *Kalagarayan* (M.E.R. 14 of 1894, 540 of 1916, 543 of 1922, 241 of 1942), *Kalaguntarayan* (M.E.R. 324 of 1908, 393 of 1917, 323 of 1922, 296 of 1928, 572 of 1930), *Munaryarayan* (M.E.R. 5 of 1894, 327 of 1908, 411 of 1909, 450, 472, 600, 661 of 1916, 317 of 1923, 204 of 1933), *Pannarayan* (M.E.R. 137 of 1894), *Samappalayarayan* (M.E.R. 522 of 1911), *Tamiravarayan* (M.E.R. 83 of 1914), *Isayaragundar* (M.E.R. 131 of 1910) and *Pannar* (I.P.S. 243, M.E.R. 322, 326 of 1905, 113 of 1926, 6 of 1939).

6. There were halls called *Muṭṭharayan* (M.E.R. 190 of 1910), *Serukūṭam* (M.E.R. 104 of 1913, 451 of 1915), *Maṭṭiya* (Pāṇḍyan 324, 326 of 1908), *Maṭṭiya* (I.P.S. 243), *Pugumbaraman* (459 of 1909).

7. M.E.R. 304 of 1917 mentions a *maṇḍa-maṇḍapa* in the *toppu* on the northern side of the palace.

8. I.P.S. 243 mentions *valakkappalirayan* in the palace at Mādakkulaikkal Madurai and *Māḍarayan* at *Maṇḍadu*.

maids¹ in this palace. Further, a Tirugnānasambandan *maṭṭa* in the city is also mentioned².

The flourishing city of Madurai is invariably termed in mediaeval epigraphs as Māḍakkulaḱḱil Madurai in *Māḍarōḍiya Paṇḍuḱḱa*³. Māḍakkulam appears to have been an important place in the mediaeval period since Madurai and other place names are referred to in relation to it as Māḍakkulaḱḱil Madurai, Māḍakkulaḱḱil Tirupparankunṇam⁴, Māḍakkulaḱḱil Aravūr⁵, Māḍakkulaḱḱil Kulaśēkharapuram⁶ and Māḍakku akḱil *brahmadēya* Koḍumangalam⁷. The suffix *ḱḱil* may not be merely a reference to the place named being east of Māḍakkulam in which case villages west or north or south of Māḍakkulam should be similarly referred to. On the other hand even Koḍumangalam which is north west of Māḍakkulam is referred to as Māḍakkulaḱḱil *brahmadēya*. The term *Māḍakkulaḱḱil* may therefore be a reference to a territorial or administrative unit, which included not only the city of Madurai but also other places like Tirupparankunṇam and Koḍumangalam. Even up to the middle of the 19th century the present Madurai taluk was known as Māḍakkulam taluk⁸.

The modern village of Māḍakkulam is about four miles west of Madurai and is immediately to the east of the large tank from which it takes its name. A Tamil proverb significant of the large size of the tank says that Madurai city would be ruined if the Māḍakkulam tank overflowed⁹. In fact the deity in the Ayanār Temple

1. M.E.R. 720 of 1916 mentions an *agappariṭṭam* maid who set up an image of a goddess and presented many jewels to the deity.

2. M.E.R. 19 of 1894, 62 of 1905.

3. More than 50 epigraphs refer to Māḍakkulaḱḱil Madurai. Some of them are M.E.R. 5, 136 of 1894, 245 of 1941 and 252 of 1942.

4. M.E.R. 239, 252 and 263 of 1942.

5. M.E.R. 243 of 1942.

6. M.E.R. 243 of 1942. It was a new village created near Tirupparankunṇam in the time of Jayavarman Kulaśekhara I.

7. M.E.R. 47, 48 of 1890, 27 of 1942. Koḍumangalam is about eight miles to the north-west of Madurai.

8. W. Francis, *Madurai District Gazetteer* pp. 206, 254.

9. Nambiar, *Tiruvimōḱa*, p. 10, note to stanza 13. 'Māḍakkulam peruginūi Maḍurai tūl'.

on the eastern bund of the tank is called *Kuraikākkum Ayanār* or one who guards the bund¹.

B S Ward who carried out a survey of the *Māḍakkulam* taluk about 1817 A.D. states that 'Madakkulam a considerable village west of Madurai is situated under the bank of a large tank in the midst of paddy cultivation. It is composed of a few but regular streets, ... with a pagoda² at the west end of some celebrity³. The *Madakkulam* village is fairly large and important even today and the *Māḍakkulam* tank still remains one of the chief sources of irrigation in the neighbourhood.

The modern village does not appear to have any visible vestiges of its past glory, but a study of some of the field names here may be of value and may yield interesting information. The southern part of the village called the *Palanganattam* hamlet is believed to be the older part of the village. The term *palanganattam* may be a corruption of *paṇḍānattam* and may thus refer to the older portions of the place.

There is a tradition that the old Pāṇḍya palace stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present *Māḍakkulam* village. There is a tank here called "*Viraṇḍaḍaiyān Kaṇṇōṭi*". Some fields to the east of it are called *mānam muṭṭi* which translated would mean 'sky high'. This name is rather suggestive. Perhaps it refers to some high tower or palace gate which may have existed here. To the east and north of *mānam muṭṭi* a number of fields are known by the name "*Kōvalan Pūṭṭal*". The local people point to two heavily worn stones here as the place where Kovalan was executed⁴. The name *mānam muṭṭi* as well as the presence of these stones in this

1 He is also called *iḍḍai Ayanār*; but the significance of his name is not clear. The temple appears to have an ancient history. R. Sewell, in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 294, says that it had inscriptions. But the present structure is a modern one.

2 This is a reference to the Ayanār temple in the village.

3 B S. Ward *Geographical and Statistical Memoirs of the Provinces of Madura and Dindigul*, Vol. III, p. 13.

4 Perhaps the stone is a menhir and may be worth investigating.

neighbourhood lend some weight to the view that the palace may have been located here in the past.

Other interesting field names found here are *pacanāca attagam*, *alagapattu* and *marabapattu*. *Attagam* seems to have some connection with the numeral *eight* and *agam* means "house", but the meaning of the term is not very clear. It is very tempting to take it to be a corruption of *attagayam*, தட்டையம். The fields called *alagapattu* are probably lands belonging to some temple. The name *Marabapattu* is perhaps a variation of *marabapattu* and may have been the quarters of the Marabars from whom many warriors were recruited to the army.¹ Some field names of the eastern part of the Mādakulam tank are called *ammarabalam*. Evidently there may have been a lotus pond here.

In the absence of visible vestiges above the ground the exact location of the palace of the Pāṇḍyas may become known only with the help of the archaeologist's spade. However the evidences mentioned above do not seem to rule out a conclusion that possibly in early days the city or parts of it were located near here.

D. THE TEMPLE IN THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

There is not much evidence to make a connected account of the great temple at Madurai and of the other temples nearby during the mediaeval period. Some interesting information however can be gathered about them from numerous epigraphs of the period. These records mention various gifts and endowments to the temples, constructional operations, names of temple servants, *mūlas*, and religious teachers, festivals, currency and measures in use and many other customs of the period.

The great temple at Madurai is referred to as the temple of Tiruvālvāṇḍāra Nāṇār.² In mediaeval epigraphs sometimes of goddesses are often named as Tirukkāmarottam. The mention

1. M.E.R. 153 of 1942 refers to the Mādakkulakūḷi Kōṭṭavāṣaṭṭam maravar and also that Pūḍiḷḷāṁ māṇḍavāṣaṭṭam. M.E.R. 304 of 1907, a Vaṇḍiḷḷāṁ inscription of about the 9th c. A.D. refers to the Kōṭṭavāṣaṭṭam of Mādakulam.

2. M.E.R. 400 of 1906; 267, 270, 278, 281 of 1942.

of the *Taṭkāmekkottam* Āṇḍava Nāccavār¹ no record from the Madurai temple is apparently a reference to the shrine of Goddess Minākṣi. There is mention of the deity *Maṇ-viś, Ādivār* at the temple². Since there are as many as five Nāṭarāja shrines at the Madurai temple it is not clear to which shrine the record refers.

A record dated *Ar. Aṇḍava Nāvakaṣār* (*Ar. Aṇ. Nā. Kṣār?*) was the name of Āṇḍava Nāccavār of the *Taṭparankuṭṭu* mudalava Nāyarār Temple³. The shrine of Kṣetrapāla Pillaiṇṇi in the temple of *Taṭparankuṭṭam* and the provision made for its worship by levying taxes on the village of *Kūṇāṣṭkharāṇṇi* are mentioned in an inscription⁴.

Inscriptions from *Nagarikōvu* refer to the image of Nāyarār *Āṭkṇi* (*Vannar* *Embarumān*) set up by *Maṭṭiṣār*⁵ a shrine of *Seṇṇamelaṣār*⁶ and the image of *Tiruvāli Ālvār*⁷. The deity at *Nagarikōvu* is stated to have had *piṭha* of various names such as the *Kāṇḍarāyan piṭha*⁸ and the *Cēṭṭāyār piṭha*⁹, probably in the *Kūṇṣekkara paṇai*.

GIFTS AND ENDOWMENTS of different kinds were made to the great temple at Madurai for various purposes such as the maintenance of temples¹⁰ (*tempiṇṇakappam*, the god's *tempiṇṇam*)¹¹ and *ṣaṇḍanakkappu*¹² for the temple festivals¹³ for *ṣaṇḍa*, in the names of kings and private individuals, for the temple musicians¹⁴, to the temple servants (*ṭaṇḍar*)¹⁵, for *ṣaṇḍar*¹⁶ and for *mūṭha*.¹⁷

1. M.E.R. 278 of 1942.

2. M.E.R. 281 of 1942.

3. M.E.R. 271 of 1938. 278 of 1942 quoted in the *Godrest* *Ar. Aṇ. Aṇ.* book.

4. M.E.R. 243 of 1942.

5. M.E.R. 317 of 1913.

6. M.E.R. 326 of 1930.

7. M.E.R. 290 of 1930.

8. M.E.R. 264 of 1930.

9. M.E.R. 320 of 1930.

10. M.E.R. 41 of 1920. S.I.I. Vol. IV. No. 32. M.E.R. 275 of 1942.

11. M.E.R. 50 of 1890. S.I.I. Vol. IV. No. 27.

12. M.E.R. 289 of 1942.

13. M.E.R. 278 and 281 of 1942.

14. M.E.R. 276 and 277 of 1942.

15. M.E.R. 140 of 1903.

16. M.E.R. 270 and 278 of 1942.

17. M.E.R. 60 and 62 of 1905, 4 of 1915 + 278 of 1942.

FESTIVALS The *Āvanutīrṇam* and the *Tiruppāratimōṇḁ* festival in the month of *Āṇṇāsi*¹ are mentioned in inscriptions of the Madurai temple. Provisions were made for feeding 1000 persons at the rate of 100 per day at the *Baṇṇaṇṇāyirai maṭha* during the *Āvanu* festival².

Epigraphs from *Āṇṇāsi* mention the *Kaṇṇakōṇṇāsi* festival and the festivals of *Āṇṇāsi* and *Āṇṇāsi*. The *Māṇṇāsi* festival is mentioned³.

MATHAS In the medieval period *maṭhas*, like the *śāstras*, played an important role in the promotion of learning, culture and religion. From about the 10th century onwards *maṭhas* grew in influence and popularity under the liberal patronage of kings and nobles. Many *maṭhas* attached to temples over had control over temple affairs. The *maṭhas* welcomed pilgrims and arranged for their lodging. Many religious teachers were maintained, and provision was made in them for the study of *Vēdas*, *śāstras* and *pūrāṇas*. The construction of *maṭhas* and temples was generally encouraged by kings and nobles.

The medieval *maṭhas* acted as important centres of learning, education and religious activity and helped the growth of religious art and architecture as well as sacred music and dance. The medieval epigraphs contain many details of the activities of *maṭhas* and the religious pontiffs who preside over them in Madurai and the Madurai country. There were many *maṭhas* representing different sects of Hinduism in Madurai, Tirunnavannur and Tirumālāi. The *Tirumālāi* *maṭha* situated in *Māṇṇāsi* (Māṇṇāsi) Madurai is frequently mentioned in epigraphs of the period. This *maṭha* appears to have wielded great influence on religious and social life at the Madurai country. The *maṭha* is now situated near the temple between the South Canna Street and South *Āvanu* Mōṭi Street.

1. M.E.R. 281 of 1942.

2. M.E.R. 278 of 1942.

3. M.E.R. 321 of 1930.

4. M.E.R. 279 of 1940.

5. M.E.R. 13 of 1929, 42 of 1905, 10 of 1916. There were *maṭhas* at various places in the Madurai country, e.g., at Tirunavannur, Tirunavannur District (M.E.R. 129 of 1940) and Tenkasi Madurai District (M.E.R. 126 of 1910).

It still continues to be one of the most important of the *maṭhas* of the Tamil country. In a record of the second year of Jātavarman Kāṭṭēśvār (c. 190 A.D.) the Tiruñānasambandar *maṭha* is said to have been under the control of the *paṇḍita* 1. D. K. S. Gōṭṭaṁ 2 of Tiruvārūr 3.

From about the time of Mājavarmān Śaṅkara Pāṇḍya I many temples 4 were being given to *Bhikṣuśrīśaṅkara* 5 the Cōḷa king of a *vaṇḍa* 6 open to free passage from the north and south and Madurai country. A record of the eleventh year of Mājavarmān Śaṅkara Pāṇḍya 1st states that provision was made for feeding the *śrīs* 7 of *Isaṇadevān* 8 a *paṇḍita* who were residing in the *Nāḷperuṇḍi maṭha* at Karunguṇi, *atha* Śāṅkara-kūṭṭū. The *paṇḍita* migrated from the Kṛṣṇa Cōḷa king at Tiruvārūr. In another record of the 20th year of the same king 2 the chief of Mājavarmān kṛṣṇa Tēkkāpperuṇḍi *atha* Mājavacakiavarmā makes a gift of *śrīs* 9 *gundakṣiṇa* 10 a *śrī* *Kaṇṭhavar* *Isaṇa* *śrī* *śaiva* who was a native of the Uṇṇadēśvā. The same chief makes a gift the next year to another Śaiva teacher called Śāṅkṭha Śiva 4 of the Tiruñānasambandar *maṭha* at Tirupparūr. Śāṅkṭha Śiva was a disciple of Ācāryaṇḍaḡvān *maṭha* at Tiruvārūr. Evidently this was also one of the Dakṣiṇa Cōḷa king 5. Four epigraphs 6 of Jātavarman V. K. Śaṅkara Pāṇḍya from the Viṭṭala temple at Madurai state that provision was made for feeding persons looking after the cows which were obtained by begging (*vaṇḍa*) for the temple by *Nṛpa* *vaṅkṣāḡvā* 7 of the *Bhikṣuśrīśaṅkara* *maṭha* and housed in a *gōḷaṭṭa* 8 named after Māmadai Sōmeśvara.

Other *maṭhas* in Madurai city were the Bhuvanēśvartar *maṭha* 9 and the *śrī* *Viṭṭala* 10, the *Nṛpa* *śrī* *śaiva* *maṭha* 11.

1. M.E.R. 19 of 1894, 62 of 1905.

2. M.E.R. 504 of 1909.

3. M.E.R. 47 of 1924.

4. M.E.R. 129 of 1908.

5. M.E.R. 186-191 of 1944.

6. At present there is a *gōḷaṭṭa* in the temple in the southern half of the *Viṭṭala* *Adi Śaiva*.

7. M.E.R. 278 of 1942.

8. This is perhaps a reference to a broad processional street in which the god was taken in a *vaṇḍa* manner.

9. M.E.R. 4 of 1915.

the *Terkal matha*, the *Sonara Pūṇḍarikā matha*³ & *Māṇam Periyā matha*⁴, and the *Amuṇḍa matha*⁵.

During the reign of Maṇavarman Kulāśēkara I the *Tirunāṇasamaṇḍar matha* at *tenkavar*⁶ was presided over by the Mudalvārs of the *Pāṇḍya-vaṅgaṇa Santāna*. One of them was Umanorupāgar of *Kāśēkaranaparam*.

The *Terkal matha* at *Maṇḍar* was in charge of a certain *Nīlakṛthi Śiva*, neotwice disciples. *Tirunēlāl Uḍaiyār* is mentioned in two records of Maṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II⁷. One record says that *ṇāṇam kaḍēv* was a disciple of the *Ācārya Peruvāṇḍya* of the *Nēmaḱēśvaraṇḍar Santāna* who presided over the *Amuṇḍa matha*⁸.

There were many *mathas* at *Tirupparankunram* also. There are references to the *Kāśēkara matha*⁹ in charge of the Mudalvārs of the *Grīkṣi santāna*, the *Māṇam matha*¹⁰ under the *Mudalvārs* of the *Pāṇḍya-vaṅgaṇakattāṇa Peruvāṇḍi matha*¹¹ under *Mudalvār Parākramadevaran*, *Peruvāṇḍakattāṇam matha*¹² in charge of *Irāṇḍar Paṣupatēva*. A record of Maṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II¹³ states that a *matha* was constructed in the name of Prince Bhagavān *Āṭṭar* to the north-east of the temple at *Tirupparankunram*¹⁴.

At *Vaṅgaḱōṇa* there were a number of *Vaiṣṇava mathas* such as the *Kāśēkaran matha* constructed by *Munavarāṇḍar alaiyār* *Srīraṇḍan Uyyaṇḍan* at *Kappalūr*¹⁵, the *Tirunāḍaḍaiyān matha*¹⁶

1. M.E.R. 131 and 132 of 1894.

2. M.E.R. 60 of 1905.

3. M.E.R. 507 of 1911. The record states that this *matha* was built in the name of *Uḷappadaiyār* and was in charge of *Jannanur* *kaḍēva* and his disciples.

4. M.E.R. 422 of 1907 and 560 of 1911.

5. M.E.R. 126 of 1910.

6. M.E.R. 131 of 1894 and 132 of 1894.

7. M.E.R. 560 of 1911.

8. M.E.R. 15 of 1894, 417 of 1926, and 251 and 253 of 1942. 15 of 1894 and 251-253 of 1942 refer to the tapasvin *Tirucurrambalaṇḍar* while 617 of 1926 refers to *Kaylavadevaṇ alaiyār* *Sivadeva*.

9. M.E.R. 338 of 1918.

10. M.E.R. 136 of 1903 S.I.I. Vol. VIII, No. 423.

11. M.E.R. 265 of 1942.

12. M.E.R. 248 of 1942.

13. M.E.R. 239 of 1942.

14. M.E.R. 279 of 1930.

15. M.E.R. 277 and 278 of 1930.

E BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF THE PANDYAS

The medieval Pāṇḍya were great patrons of art and architecture. Unlike their Dravidian architectural development, the *gopuram* which became a dominant feature in the Chōla's greatly gave place to single *gōpura* and *prākāra* walls. From this period *ekam* towers and *mandapas* received greater attention rather than the main shrine. The numerous epigraphs and literary evidences point to the intense building activity of the Pāṇḍya rulers who did much to glorify the temples spread throughout their wide empire.

Madurai was an extensive city even much during the Muslim interregnum and very few of the medieval structures have survived. Some part of the Madurai temple is the *Āṅgāk* *Gōpura*, the East and West *Gōpura* and the Saṅgamaṅga temple may or need lack medieval times. These structures are also well as detailed in Chapter X.

Numerous other buildings could be traced to the Pāṇḍya rulers. This shows that there was very great activity in such constructions during this time. A *mandapa* called after the name of Kāṇṇēkkaṇa Narasimha was built at Tirupparankuṭṭam¹ by Nāṇṇaṅga who was probably an officer under Jaṭavarman Kāṇṇēkkaṇa I, c. 1190 A.D. Some records of 42nd and 18th year of Maravarman Kāṇṇēkkaṇa I, c. 1309-1310 A.D., refer to the construction of the shrine of Tirukkāmakkoṭṭu-Āṇṇaṅga Nāṇṇaṅga in the Tirupparankuṭṭam temple by Śēṇḍappillai².

A number of inscriptions from Aligarhkoṭṭu refer to the building activities of many Pāṇḍya kings as well as officers and private persons. Jaṭavarman Sūlaka Pāṇḍya I built the "*Āṇṇa Ponnēṇṇa Perumal Tirumandapa*" in the temple. A "*Sūlaka Pāṇḍya Marandapa*" is mentioned in some records³. The *Manniyadavāṇṇa mandapa* was built by Monnayadavāṇṇa Vāṇṇaṇṇaṇṇa in the Maniyadavāṇṇa. A *prākāra* wall called *Kōṇṇaṇṇaṇṇa Tirumandapa* was

1. M.E.R. 251 of 1942.

2. M.E.R. 337, 338, 339 of 1918.

3. M.E.R. 84 of 1929.

4. M.E.R. 313, 320 of 1930; 8 of 1932.

5. M.E.R. 270, 326 of 1930; 2 of 1932.

the name of the king is referred to¹. A record on a dressed slab in the *Sundara Pāṇḍya* *Maṇḍapa* gives the name of the slab as *Pīṇṇa Arāṣan Piṭṭam*². *Tondaimānār* built the *Tondaima Gopurā*³ evidently in the reign of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II⁴.

The shrine of Tiruvāṭṭi Ālvār was set up in the Kālamēga Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvāṭṭi by a certain Gāṅḡva⁵. A Velamāṇi shrine was built at Tiruvāṭṭi in the king's name during the time of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I⁶.

A record of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with the ending '*Pāṇḍya Maṇḍana*' etc. states that *maṇḍapa* and *maligai* erected after the king were built in the temple of Tiru cakkanaḷ ālvār at Śolāṅkavatturwadiṇṇa gāṇ⁷. During the reign of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I the *garbhagrha*, the *artha maṇḍapa* and *mahā maṇḍapa* of the Nāṇḍarāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple at Tiruṭṭaṅḡl were built by the king's minister, Guṇakulāraṇyan at Tiruṭṭaṅḡl in S. 1149 (1227 A.D.)⁸.

A record of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I refers to the construction of a *maṇḍapa* called '*Jñāna madham*' in the king's name at the temple at Tondarappēra⁹.

The outer main *gōpura* of the Vikrama Pāṇḍyēśvara temple at Śoṭṭaparam was built by a Śaṅkara Pāṇḍya¹⁰. One record refers to the building of several *maṇḍapas* in the Venkaṭācārya Perumāḷ temple at Śoṭṭaparam¹¹.

1. M.E.R. 323 of 1930.

2. M.E.R. 215 of 1939.

3. M.E.R. 334 of 1930.

4. Tondaima figures as an official in records of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II such as M.E.R. 80 of 1894 and also in records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I such as M.E.R. 176 of 1892.

5. M.E.R. 330 of 1918.

6. M.E.R. 333 of 1918.

7. M.E.R. 327 of 1908 from Kāṇḍiṭṭavāṭṭi, Madurai District.

8. M.E.R. 554 of 1922.

9. M.E.R. 284 of 1941.

10. M.E.R. 492 of 1909. The identity of the king is not clear.

11. M.E.R. 498 of 1909.

One record of Mārtavarman Kūṭaśekhara II states that a temple of the goddess at a temple Śaṅkaranam was built by the king's order. A record from Pudukkottai states that the *gōpura* of the temple there was built by Bhojānakaṭṭavaṭṭa Rājānārāyaṇa. This perhaps refers to Mārtavarman Kūṭaśekhara II who ruled these tracts.

There is a reference to *Vīra Pāṇḍya Tōṇṇaṇḍapam* in the temple of Chinnarāman¹. Śaṅkaranam and Vikrama Paṇḍya with the title *Śaṁṣṭa Bhōṇṇaṇḍapam*² are referred to in the building of the temple of the goddess at Oṇḍāṇḍiśvara temple, Anakkāṇḍi³.

The reign of Jōṭāyāyan Śaṅkara Pāṇḍya I was one of the most important periods in the history of Pāṇḍyan architecture. The king caused the temple of Chinnarāman at Śīlāgarai with *gōṭā*⁴. He took the title *Heṁṇa āṇṇṇḍapam*⁵ and *Pōṇṇḍya Pōṇṇḍi*⁶. He was responsible for the temples were built. Epigraphs refer to the image of Kōṭṭi Pōṇṇḍya Pōṇṇḍi⁷ and *āṇṇṇḍapam Pōṇṇḍi*⁸ and that the king at various times. He also made arrangements for temples built after his death time *Śaṅkara Pāṇḍya Sāṇḍi*⁹ and after some other acts of the king such as *Arum āṇṇḍarāman*¹⁰. A record from Periyāṇḍi¹¹ "Tanjore district refers to a temple to the temple of Pōṇṇḍya Pōṇṇḍi. A record of the Pōṇṇḍya Pāṇḍya Cōṭṭyāṇṇḍapam for the temple in the name of the king. During his time many *gōpuras* and other structures, *śaṅkara* and *mandapas* were built in various parts of the Tamil country.

1. M.E.R. 34 of 1916.

2. M.E.R. 622 of 1930.

3. M.E.R. 120, 127, 128 and 129 of 1935.

4. M.E.R. 19 of 1899.

5. M.E.R. 6 of 1917 from Srirangam 150 of 1904 from Tiruvendipuram S.A. 51 of 1920 from Kanniyakottai S.A.

6. M.E.R. 329 of 1920 from Tirukoyilur, 529 of 1922 from Tirakkannanpuram.

7. M.E.R. 150 of 1904, 533 of 1920.

8. M.E.R. 524 of 1932 mentions *Kōṭṭarāman Sāṇḍi*¹².

9. M.E.R. 2 of 1925.

CHAPTER VII

MADURAI UNDER FOREIGN YOKE

A MADURAI UNDER THE MUSLIMS

1. The Raids of Malik Kafur and Khusrû

The Pāṇḍya kingdom of Madurai which extended, as Wood says "from Kāṭṭu (Quilich) to Nāwar (Nagore) nearly to the hundred *parasang* along the sea coast," received serious setbacks during the first quarter of the 14th A.D. After Māhārāja Kūṭakēkara's death a civil war between his two sons Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Jātavarman Vira Pāṇḍya, and the plundering raids of Malik Kafur and Khusrû led to the complete degradation of the Pāṇḍya empire and paved the way for the foundation of a Muslim Sultanate at Madurai.

Malik Kafur's raid on Madurai is believed to have been the result of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's flight to Delhi to ask Ayub Khan for help against his brother. But the chronology of the period seems to show that this is incorrect. Sundara may have sought the aid of Kafur who had probably encamped somewhere on the Deccan-Ayodhya line in the days when Sundara Pāṇḍya returned with the *Tutukkar* and there was distress owing to floods and "*kalaham*." The differences between the two Pāṇḍya brothers made the country easy prey to Kafur. Sundara Pāṇḍya did not benefit much from the selfish Kafur whose only wish was to plunder and rape. Vira Pāṇḍya sent an army to help Bahālu against Kafur. Kafur defeated the Pāṇḍya invaders in March 1311 A.D.¹ He then marched against Balar Dād, identified with Viraśaṅkavarai or Uyyakkondā, Tiranai,² the capital of Vira Pāṇḍya, the high stronghold of Uraiyūr. Vira Pāṇḍya was driven by fled from the city. The Pāṇḍyas avoided pitched battles and harassed Kafur with guerrilla tactics.

Kafur marched towards Madurai plundering and raiding towns and villages and desecrating temples on his way. When he

1. M.E.R. 642 of 1902.

2. Dr. N. Venkatarāmanaya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 58.

3. M.E.R. 1940-43, pt. II, para 53.

reached Madurai on 10th April, 1311 A.D. he was faced with an enormous army where Sundar Pāṇḍya had with assembly and treasures. After Kusa's tale that Mark Katur and his army "arrived at the city of Markur" Madurai, he owed gratitude of his brother, the Ra Sundar Pāṇḍya. The fear of the conquest for the Rāṇḍya too, where the Rāṇḍya had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnar, Cakkāṭṭa. The elephants were captured by the empire's army.¹

The two Pāṇḍya brothers joined together at the feet of the Emperor in anger. Their uncle Vikram Pāṇḍya assumed command of the army. Hearing of the Pāṇḍya coalition against him, Katur of the city in a hurry. Soon he was attacked by Vikrama Pāṇḍya. Sri Katur managed to retreat with a large party. From the available evidence it seems highly improbable that Katur had a great victory. Madurai or went down to Kōṇṇesvaram. His expedition was a military loss, which Madurai city, more particularly the Madurai temple, suffered very heavily. Katur's raid brought to add more confusion to the treacherous state of affairs in a country already rent by a bitter civil war.

After Katur's retreat for unity between the two Pāṇḍya brothers again broke out. The ruler of South Travancore, Ravi Varman Kunjasekara who had professed allegiance to the Pāṇḍyas till about 1312 A.D. took advantage of the confusion, invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom and rapidly overran the country from Madurai up to Kañci. The Kēṇḍa ruler claims to have defeated both Sundara Pāṇḍya² and Vira Pāṇḍya³. Sundara Pāṇḍya asked the Kaka Prāṇānandara II for help. The Kēṇḍa ruler was assisted from Kāñci by Mappi, Nāvaka⁴, the Kaka's general. Mappi and Nāvaka were also said to have defeated Pāṇḍya king paripada Vira Pāṇḍya. An epigraph states that Sundara Pāṇḍya inscribed a service called after Mappidi Nāvaka in the temple at

1. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

2. Kōṇḍa's *Khōṇḍa of Fuhā* | I M. II, p. 74. Also Khāṇḍa *Tarikh-i-Alai* Ersk & Dawson. *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, I, p. 9.

3. M. I. R. 34 of 1311.

4. M. I. R. 34 of 1311. E. I. Vol. IV, pp. 143-4.

5. M. I. R. 72 of 1318. M. I. R. 1409, pt. II, para 73 & 1918, p. II, para 50.

Vridhachalam¹. A record of the Kakaiya Prāparajna from Srirangam dated S. 1239 (M.E. 28, 1317 A.D.)² mentions one Dvār Navaka defeated the five Pāṇḍya and the Kē. R. vivar-ma, Kāśēk and others during his southern conquest and established Saṅkata Pāṇḍya Vridhachalam. The Kakaiya intervention in Pāṇḍya thus appears to have resulted in the control of the northern parts of the Pāṇḍya kingdom by Kakaiyas for a short period as well as the establishment of Saṅkata Pāṇḍya.

Within ten years of Malik Kafur's sack of Madurai Madurai was again the prey of plundering raids by Muslims. During the reign of Sultan Qutub-ud-din Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi (1315-20 A.D.), one Khusrū Khan was sent to the south. Khusrū was to take a northern part of Maḥarāṣṭra plundering the kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas were hampered by rains. Further the Pāṇḍya were not a formidable power. This was discovered and he was sent back to Delhi in fetters.

The Pāṇḍyas continued to rule the Madurai country during the period of the Muslim raids and of the Saṅkata. The series of attacks by foreign invaders and other factors led to the rapid decline of the Pāṇḍya sovereignty.

1. M.E.R. 72 of 1918.

2. M.E.R. 25 of 1891, 7th of 1933, M.E.R. 199, pt II, para 5, S.I. vol IV No. 430.

3. Bernier gives the following account of Khusrū and of Maḥar. "When Khusrū Khan marched from Beug to Maḥar he was met by a messenger that informed him the same way as Malik Nurb Khan had done. The Khan of Maḥar fled with his treasures and baggage but about a hundred elephants, which had been left in two cities, fell into the hands of Khusrū Khan. On his arriving in Maḥar the rains came on and he was compelled to remain. There was in Maḥar a merchant named Fak Khan, a Sultan's friend, who had acquired great wealth which he had gained by paying the duties imposed by his religion. Relying on the favour of his powerful army being Musalman, he did not flee. Khusrū Khan had nothing in his heart but to kill him and plunder. Seized this Musalman, took his money from him by force and put him to death, declaring the money to belong to the treasury. When he remained in Maḥar he did nothing in place with his confidants as the best means of seizing and putting to death those who supported the reigning dynasty." Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 219.

Though Madurai and its immediate environs appear to have been lost by the Pāṇḍyas at the time owing perhaps to the conquests of the Muslim Sultans, they continued to rule in the parts of the Tamil country such as Pudukkōṭṭai, Ramanā, Tinnevely, Tirunelvely, Ponnai, South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput till the middle of the 14th c. A.D.

Jayavarman Vira Pāṇḍya (c. 1296 A.D.), survived the civil war with his brother Sundara Pāṇḍya and the troubles with the Muslim raids. He had a long reign of about 44 years¹ till 1342 A.D. His descriptions are found in North Arcot, South Arcot, Tirunelvely, Tanjore, Ramanā, and Tinnevely districts². He appears to have had the sur-names *Ramanukhaśrama*³ and *Kalyagarāma*⁴. A record bearing the name as Jayā van Vira Pāṇḍya and mentioning his 27th regnal year (about 1322 A.D.),⁵ refers to some *kulāham* or troubles that had occurred some time previously. The king's epigraphs from Tanjappur refer to the Muhammadan occupation of the local temple and the reconsecration of images⁶.

Jayavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the elder son of Mājavarmān Kaṇasekara I, ruled from 1303 A.D. to about 1319 A.D. His epigraphs are found in Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tirunelvely, Madurai and Tinnevely districts⁷. He had the sur-name *Aṇḍanaśrama* and his natal star was *Pagya*.

1. M.F.R. 19 & 20 of 1908 of 43rd year; 49 & 50 of 1909 of 45th year; 20 of 1908 of 46th or 49th year.

2. M.F.R. 7 & 14 from North Arcot, 9 of 1914, 46, 430 of 1921 from South Arcot, 23 of 1914, 111 of 1908 from Tanjore, 43 of 1908 from Tanjore, 111 of 1908 from Ramanā, & 49 & 50 of 1927 and 52 of 1945 from Tirunelvely districts.

3. M.E.R. 104 of 1918.

4. M.F.R. 23 of 1908 of 43rd year, mentioning of the village 'Kalyagarāma' as the king's name.

5. M.F.R. 80 of 1927.

6. M.E.R. 119, 120 of 1908.

7. M.F.R. 89 of 1908, 44 of 1934 from Chingleput, 183, 189 of 1940 from North Arcot, 84, 175 of 1918, 51 of 1920 & 5 of 1921, 385 of 1938, 93, 94 of 1944 from South Arcot, 18, 20, 21 of 1937, 75, 179, 189, 194 of 1934 from Tirunelvely, 320, 321 of 1937 from Anagarayā in Madurai and 602 of 1915 from Tanjore districts.

8. M.F.R. 84, 175 of 1918, 18 to 21 of 1937, 94 & 222 of 1944.

Some of the other Pāṇḍya rulers of the period were Māravarman Saṅgabha (c. 1307 A.D.¹), Māravarman Kaṅṅa (c. 1344-46 A.D.²), Jātavarman Parākrama (c. 1350 to about 1347 A.D.³), Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (1334-1380 A.D.⁴), Māravarman Paṇḍya (c. 1335-52 A.D.⁵), Jātavarman Paṇḍya (c. about 1357 A.D.⁶) and Jātavarman Parākrama (c. 1367 A.D.⁷).

From about the end of the 13th c. A.D. the Pāṇḍyas began to lose their hold on the northern part of the Tamil country. Kāmparā's overthrow of the Maṣṣaṭa Sūriyadeva and the rise to prominence of the powerful Pāṇḍya feudatories, the Bāṇadarāyas, appear to have forced the Pāṇḍyas to confine themselves to the more southern regions of the Pāṇḍya country such as Tinnevely. Here they continued to rule for a long time till about the middle of the 18th c. A.D.⁸

1. M.E.R. 414 of 1921.

2. M.E.R. 191 of 1938 from South Arcot, 29 of 1913, 34 of 1938, 115-116 of 1919 from Trichinopoly, 509, 510 of 1920, 73 of 1948 from Tanjore, 107 of 1913 from Ramanad, 412 to 415 of 1917 & 62A of 1927 from Tinnevely districts. M.E.R. 19 of 1913 mentions the king's surname *Abhangarashulārāya*.

3. M.E.R. 364 of 1921 from Tanjore and 487 of 1909, 15, 16, 39 of 1924, 527, 60 of 1926, 35-43-45 of 1912 from Ramanad districts, and I.P.S. 417 from Pudukkottai.

4. M.E.R. 92 of 1934 from Chingleput, 6 of 1921, 281-282 of 1929, 72-268 of 1935, 5 of 1936, 36 of 1938 from South Arcot, 5-13-54 of 1937 from Trichinopoly, 10 of 1904 from Tanjore and 16 of 1906 from Ramanad districts. M.E.R. 182 of 1909 mentions the surname *Kaṅṅarāya*. M.E.R. 92 of 1931 refers to colonies of settlers from the Pāṇḍya country at Srirudavai a colony town in Chingleput district.

5. M.E.R. 201 of 1941, 10 of 1942 from North Arcot, 1 of 1900, 8 of 1918, 7-94 of 1916, 102 of 1936, 4-4 of 1948 from South Arcot, & 2+13-35 of 1913 from Trichinopoly districts and 187-189 of 1937 from Valluvarur in former French India.

6. M.E.R. 30 of 1896, 12 of 1916.

7. M.E.R. 408 of 1918.

8. The history of these Later or Tinnevely Pāṇḍyas forms a chapter by itself. Since their direct connection with the history of the city of Madurai is only of minor consequence their history is not dealt with here.

clear¹. The Tamil chronicles give the names of the Sultans who ruled during 48 years. There are differences between this list and the names occurring in other literary works and in epigraphs. For about ten years, till the founding of the Sultanate in about 1334-35 A.D., Madurai was directly under the rule of two Sultans of Delhi, viz., Ghivay-ud-din Tughlak and his son Mahmud bin Tughlak. Then six independent Sultans appear to have ruled for about 38 years².

1. I.P.S. 670 from Panaiyur is dated in the ninth regnal year of one Mahmud Sultan. Two more are one from Ranganai I.P.S. no. 7 dated in 792 A.H. (1332 A.D.) and another from Upper M.E.R. 297 of 1044 (dated in the 145th year 1315 A.D.) of an unspecified era, since that the ruler was one Ad-Sultan. The two dates show that he might have had a reign of a least 13 years. The identity of his ruler among the available names of the Sultans of Madurai, is not clear at present. The *Madurai alimatazara* mentions Ad-Sultan and Malik Nemasa as the two generals who came from Delhi and conquered Madurai in 1323 A.D.

2. The *Madurai alimatazara* gives the following list of names:

Ulapakkhan — for six years from *Ataga* to *Prayipathi* (1326-31 A.D.);
Ulapakkhan Utsakk: A circular — 3 years from *Ingirata* to *Bhava* (1332-34 A.D.)

His nephew Kutbakk Panayan Chronicle calls him Sudi) *Tura* to *Pramadi* (1335-39 A.D.)

Nakalakk — *Kirama* to *Kajaya* 1340-59 A.D.

Saranamakkan Asurmakkan Saragiri to *Vilambi* (1347-50 A.D.),

Pangakk Malakkkan — *Vikari* to *Vadivara* 1359-70,

The *Panayan Chronicle* also gives a similar list with a few minor variations.

Severo's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (p. 363) gives the following list of eight names:

Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah - 1335 - 40 A.D.

Alauddin Udayaji - 1 year - 1340-41 A.D.

Kutbuddin Feroz Shah - 40 days.

Ghuvayiddin Dharmagata - 1340-1 to 1342 A.D.

Nasiruddin - 1342 - ?

Adil Shah - A coin of his date 1356 has been found,

Fakroddin Mubarak Shah - c. 1359 - 1368 A.D.

Alauddin Sikandari 1368-1378 Bt. his rule must have been purely nominal.

From the available evidences about six Sultans appear to have ruled from about 1334 A.D.

Dr. M. Venkataswamy gives the following list of six Sultans (J.M.U. Vol. XI, p. 65):

Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah - 1334 - 39 A.D.

Alauddin Udayaji - 1339-40 A.D.

Qutabuddin - 1340 A.D.

Ghuvayuddin Damagharu - 1341-43 A.D.

Nasiruddin 1343-52 A.D.

Gurbat Hasan Kangu - 1359 - 71 A.D.

Ibn Batuta¹ says that under Mahammad bin Tughlak one Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah was appointed the governor of Ma'bar but as Isamv² states, he was most probably only the *kutub* of the city of Madurai. Jalal-ud-din rebelled in 1334-35 A.D., murdered the Sultan's officers treacherously and became an independent ruler of Madurai.³ Thus the Madurai Sultanate came into being, and from now on a number of successive Sultans ruled over Madurai, issuing coins of their own.

The Moor, Ibn Batuta, who visited Madurai in 1342 A.D., has left an account of the first decade of the history of the Sultanate⁴. Ibn Batuta says that Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah was assassinated in 1340 A.D. after a rule of five years⁵, and was succeeded by one of his *amirs* Al-ud-din Udayi who ruled for about a year and then was killed. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Qutub-ud-din who was put on the throne by the nobles but since he proved unsatisfactory he was murdered after a brief rule of only a few days. Then Ghayas-ud-din Dammagani became Sultan (1341-43 A.D.). During his reign Ibn Batuta visited Madurai.

At this time the Hoysala Badāja III invaded the Sultanat, defeated the Muslims near Kobbai (Kappanūr-Koppa) and made them retreat to Madurai. Then he besieged the fort of Kobbai for nearly six months. Finally Ghayas-ud-din made a surprise attack on Badāja, took him prisoner and cruelly put him to

1. Elliot and Dowson. *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol III, p. 618.

2. *The Futu-us-Salatīn*, p. 449, J. M. U., Vol. XI, pp. 41-42.

3. Barni says that he was Sayid Hasan father of Ibrahim the putse-buster, and that he broke out into rebellion in Ma'bar killed the nobles and seized upon the government. Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 243.

4. K. A. Nankar and Sastri *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 276-283, Elliot and Dowson: *op. cit.*, p. 614. If Ibn Batuta was the son-in-law of Jamuddin. In the course of his travels he stayed for sometime in Madurai and Madurai country.

5. Numismatic evidence confirms this since the last date furnished by the coins for his reign is 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D., J. R. A.S. 1909), p. 63.

death¹, in 1342 A.D. Ibn Batuta was shocked at the atrocities committed during the Sultan's rule.

There was a severe epidemic in Madurai and Ghiyas-ud-din succumbed to it soon after Ibn Batuta's arrival. Ibn Batuta was himself attacked by the disease, but soon recovered. The Sultan was succeeded by his nephew Nasir-ud-din in 745 A.H (1343-44-52²). Soon after his accession, Ibn Batuta left Ma'bar. There is no account available for the subsequent history of the Sultans of Madurai. Further, there is a break in the coinage of the Sultans of Madurai for about twelve years from 745 A.H to 757 A.H.³ Hence the history of the later Sultans is not very definite. It is said by Aff that when Feroz Shah became Sultan of Delhi he sent a *firman* to Ma'bar but Ma'bar was found to be without a ruler at that time. The people of Ma'bar proceeded to Daudata and and chose one Qurbat Hasan Kangu as their king and brought him to Ma'bar.⁴ But he was a base and unworthy ruler.

Meanwhile the Vijayanagara Empire had been founded in 1336 A.D. Its rulers began a steady contest against the Muslims in the Deccan and the south. Kamara Kampana, the son of Bukka I, the second ruler of the Vijayanagara dynasty in the course of a series of campaigns, succeeded in the steady overthrow of the Muslims from north to south. Kampana conquered Rajagambhira Rāya, the country of the Sāmpavarāyas in about 1362 A.D. A few years later Kampana marched south, restored and

1. Ibn Batuta says that Ballala was captured, strangled and flayed and his skin was stuffed with straw and hung up on the wall of Madurai. Ibn Batuta's account of Ballala's death in the course of a war against the Muslims is corroborated by the evidence on an inscription of 1342 A.D. which says that Ballala was killed in the Turuka war at Caracupalli (Trichanopoly, E.C. Vol. VI, Ed. No. 75).

2. It must be remembered that one characteristic of the Muslim coinage, that is, the mention of the place of mintage is conspicuous by its absence in the so-called coins of the Sultans of Ma'bar. J.M.L. Vol. XII, p. 53.

3. J.M.L., Vol. XI, pp. 55-60, 62-65.

reconsecrated God Ranganātha in the temple at Srirangam¹. Then he marched against Madurai, defeated and killed the Sultan², and freed Ma'bar from Muslim occupation³, which had lasted for nearly half a century.

It is rather difficult to fix the exact date of Kampana's invasion and conquest of Madurai. Most probably Kampana's southern campaigns started in about 1362 and were steadily continued till about 1378 A.D. when the Muslim power in the south was finally overthrown⁴.

The vanquished Muslims appear to have made a fruitless appeal to Delhi for help⁵.

Madurai had been under Muslim rule for nearly half a century. Ibn Batuta's account gives a rough idea of the misrule and maladministration of the Muslim rulers. Epigraphic evidence, though meagre speaks of the suffering and distress in the country. The misrule of the Muslims is variously referred to in inscriptions

1. During the period of the Muslim invasions of the region about 1327 A.D. the images of God Ranganatha and his consort had been secretly carried away from Srirangam by the priests to Tirupati, by way of Jyōṅkuṭṭu, Tirunḷi-runjōlar, Kouskōdu, and Punganur. *Madhurarajayam*, introd., pp. 12-23, Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II, p. 11; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 16.

2. The Sultan overthrown by Kampana was apparently Qurbat Hasan Kangu. Afif says: "Bukkan, an enemy, who was on the frontiers of Ma'bar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded Ma'bar and captured Qurbat Hasan Kangu alive, and after capturing him killed him." Afif *The Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 262.

3. The overthrow of the Muslim Sultanate and the restoration of Hindu rule are referred to in Tamil chronicles like the *Maduraiyatala-saraluru*, *Madurai Sikkantar Varavaru*, the *Sritala* and many Telugu works like the *Jayamaharāṣam* and the *Ramabhyudayaṁ* as well as in the writings of Muslim historians like Afif. It also forms the subject of the *Madhurarajayam*, a Sanskrit poem in epic style, by Kumara Kampana's wife Ganga Devi.

4. M.E.R. 64 of 1916, whose date is now generally accepted as 1364 A.D., refers to Kampana's southern campaigns, the overthrow of the Muslims and the restoration of order. M.E.R. 106 & 111 of 1903, dated 1371 & 1374 A.D. are Kampana's epigraphs from Tiruppullani (Ramanad District).

5. Afif: *op. cit.* p. 262.

and chronicles as *tulukkāṇṇiyam*, *tulukkāṇṇam* and *tulukkar kalam*¹. Gangādēvi, in the *Madhurāṇṇayam*², vividly describes the effects of the Muslim invasion and occupation of the Tamil country. Vyāghrapurī (Cidambaram) became literally the place for tigers. The temple at Śrirangam became so dilapidated that the image of God Ranganātha was protected by the hood of Ādiśēṣa alone. The shrine at Jambukeśvaram also was in a similar state. The coconut trees of Madurai had been cut down and in their places were erected *laṭṭas* (iron tridents) with garlands of human heads, resembling the coconut trees remotely. Ibn Batuta also confirms Gangādēvi's account of Madurai when he says that the Sultan of Madurai made the Hindu prisoners carry posts on which they were later impaled.

Social and economic life appear to have been greatly upset during the period of the Sultanate and the country was drained of its treasures and resources. A record³, from Tirukkaṭṭakūṭi dated 1364 A.D., refers to the disorder caused by the Muhammadans. It says that "The times were *Tuṭukkan* times, the *dēvadāna* lands of the gods were taxed with *kuṭimai*, the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction, the *uṭavu* or cultivation of the temple lands were done by turns by the tenants of the village". Further some of the temple lands had to be sold for the preservation of the original status of the temple.

Several epigraphs refer to the sale of *pāṇṭukāṇal* rights.⁴ Very often the people had to make their own arrangements for protection.

Apart from the stray references by Ibn Batuta and Afīf hardly anything is known of Madurai city during the period of the

1. I.P.S. 454 & 669, M.E.R. 119 & 120 of 1908 and 64 of 1916 also refer to the occupation of the country by Muslims. M.E.R. 60 of 1916 dated 761 of an unspecified era probably it refers to the Muhammadan era and corresponds to about 1361 A.D. states that a number of Muslim generals were sent to destroy Śraṭṭakūṭi.

2. Gangādēvi *Madhurāṇṇayam*, G. Hanhara Sastri and V. Srinivasa Sastri, ed., Trivandrum, 1916, p. 34.

3. M.E.R. 64 of 1916, Report, pt II, para 33.

4. M.E.R. 293 of 1906, 122 of 1908, I.P.S. 454, 669.

Saltana e. Ibn Batuta says that Madurai was a large town with broad streets and that it was the Sultan's place of residence. He says that the first prince who made it his capital was his father-in-law, the Sultan Sharif Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, who made it look like Delhi building it with care¹. He also mentions a river at a distance of one *parasang* on the banks of which was a Hindu temple. This is evidently a reference to the Vaigai.

It is interesting to note that Ibn Batuta mentions the use of the coins, *drachmas* and *dynars*. An epigraph mentions a *kaikkōḷa* of the *Āvaṇaiṭṭupperunteruvu* at Madurai².

The Madurai Temple during the Muslim Rule

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN TO SAFEGUARD THE IDOLS

The Tamil chronicles indicate how the temple at Madurai suffered destruction under the Muslim rule. The *Madurai Sthānīkar Paralāṅgu*³ gives the following account. In the month of *Āṣāḍ* of Ś 1245 (1323 A.D.) the Pādshah *adāṣal mantri* Āḍi Sulhān and Malukka Nāṁvār came from Delhi with 60,000 horses, destroyed Śiva and Viṣṇu temples and tanks, plundered temple treasures (*śrībhagadūram*, mutilated images (*bimbam*) and reached Pachaiyopoly. There also the *sthānīkas* were removed and temples were destroyed. Hearing these *king Vālāḷ Vīṭṭuranguṁ Parākrama Pandya* was alarmed and left for the fort of Kāḷayārkōv. Unable to stay in the city without the king's protection, the *sthānīkas* of the temple of Madurai left the city after making certain provisions for the protection of the deity. They made a *kaikkūṅgu* for the *Sodam* in the *garbhagriha*, raised earth mounds, blocked the *garbhagriha* entrance with a stone wall and set up another *Linga* in the *urḍha maṇḍapa*. They did *aṣṭābhāṇḍana* for the Goddess (*Mūlappērnācivār*, and set up the Goddess on the upper storey of the *umāna*. They did *pūpadānam* (buried in the ground) for the *utsava vigrahas*, *Ḥaiya Nāṁvār* and other *agrahas* near the *Maṇḍukandīśvaraṁṇaiyār*⁴ shrine. The *Śōliya*, *Kulaśēkharapperuma*, who was formerly

1. K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 281.

2. M.E.R. 960 of 1939.

3. *Sentamil*, Vol. V, p. 141 ff.

4. The whereabouts of this shrine is not traceable. Most probably it was one of the sub-shrines in the temple itself whose identity is now lost.

ding pūja in the Kariyamānukka Perumāl Temple, was left in charge of the Madurai temple and the conduct of its worship. Then taking the gold *vigraha* of the God and a few other gold *vigrahas*, the *sthānikas* left Madurai and reached the Kilakiluppar forest in Nānjunāṇḍu.

DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE: Tamil chronicles relate how the temple structures and the temple worship suffered during the Muslim regime. According to the account in the *Maduraiṭṭalavaralōru* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, the 14 *gōpuras* of the temple, the *Pāṇḍāḷṣara iṭṭumadil* and the streets within were destroyed and the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mahāmāṇḍapa* escaped the fury of the Muslims.¹

While the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* and the *Maduraiṭṭalavaralōru* merely state that the sanctum and its adjuncts escaped destruction, the *Madurai Sthānikar Varalōru* attempts to give an explanation as to why the sanctum was saved. The story according to this chronicle, is that the invaders when told the legend about feeding the stone elephant, wanted to test the fact themselves and when they found that the stone elephant did eat the sugarcane offered by them they thought that their own God resided in the shrine and that therefore it must be saved. Whether the story is true or not, the vestiges of older structure still surviving in the *garbhagriha* would indicate that not much damage was done to it.

RESTORATION OF WORSHIP BY KAMPANA: According to the *Maduraiṭṭalavaralōru* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, the Mysore general Kampana Uḍaiyār, after driving away the Muslim invaders, restored the worship in the Madurai temple, after purificatory ceremonies.²

All the accounts mention that when the blocked up doorway was opened and the earth which was covering the deity was removed

1 The *Supplementum Mavorianum* state that the west *Gopura* and the *Sandikā Gopura* also escaped destruction.

2 M.E.R. 64 of 1915 from Tirukkalakudi states that Kampana Uḍaiyār destroyed the Muslim power, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (*naṇḍikannārs*) for inspection and supervision so that regular worship in all the temples might be restored.

Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār was surprised to find the lamps still burning and the flowers of the deity still fresh as they would be when the daily *pūja* is commenced every morning.

B. Vijayanagara Viceroys

Kampaṇa's overthrow of the Madurai Sultanate was completed in about 1371 A.D. From then onwards up to the latter half of the 16th c. A.D. the Madurai country came under the Vijayanagar Empire and was ruled by viceroys appointed by the imperial Government. The early viceroys were members of the Vijayanagara royal family, as for instance, Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka, and Vṛṣpākṣa son of Harihara II. These royal viceroys took the title of *oḍiya* or *uḍaiyār*. The practice of appointing princes of the royal family as viceroys of the provinces was followed by the kings of the Aravidu dynasty also. For instance, Venkaṭa II the fourth son of Tirumala was the viceroy of the Tondai Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries with his headquarters at Caricatāra¹. But the Saluvas and the Tuluvas did not follow this practice. Instead, experienced and distinguished officers were appointed as the provincial governors, who were generally designated by the term *dandadīyaka*. Their status and position appear to have been the same as those of the royal viceroys. Lakkappa was one of the most eminent of the *dandadīyakas*.

Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār was the first viceroy of the south and was a powerful ruler. Epigraphs of the period, the vernacular chronicles and works as well as the Muslim historians describe the restoration of Hindu rule in Madurai and Kampaṇa's attempts to bring back order and stability in the administration.

Kampaṇa's epigraphs in about 1371 A.D. are found in Chingleput, North Arcot and Ramnad² and show that he was practically master of the whole of South India by this time. Kampaṇa died in 1374 A.D. and his son Jammaṇa or Empaṇa³, succeeded him.

1. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 302.

2. M.E.R. 511 of 1913 (from Chingleput, 293 of 1895 from North Arcot, and 106, 111 of 1903 from Ramnad, M.E.R. 114 of 1903 dated 1374 A.D. is from Tiruppulani in Ramnad).

3. M.E.R. 573 of 1902, S. I. L., Vol. VIII, No. 164.

as viceroy. It is not known how long he ruled. The *Madurai-talavaralaru* says that Kampaṇa and his son Empaṇa Uḍaiyār and his nephew (*marumagan*) Poṟkāṇḍaiyār¹, ruled for a period of 33 years from the year *Virōdhukē* to the year *Citrabhānu* (1371-1402 A.D.).

In about 1385 A.D. Vijayanagar seems to have been losing control over the Madurai country. Hence Harihara II appointed his own sons to govern the various parts of the empire, so that there could be stricter control and more efficient administration. One of his sons, Virūpākṣa, was appointed as the governor of the Tamil districts. He is credited with the conquest of Ceylon². In the Sanskrit drama, *Nṛdāyamūlāsam*, written by Virūpākṣa, the author calls himself the governor of the Karmāṭa, Tuṇḍira, Cōla and Pāṇḍya *mandalas* and claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the sand of Sīmbhala (Ceylon)³.

Some time later, during the reign of Dēvarāya II (1422-46 A.D.), his minister, Lakkanna became the viceroy of the Madurai country. According to the *Madurai-talavaralaru* and the *Madurai Śhānkar Varalaru*, Madurai was ruled by Lakkanna and his brother Mādanna for 48 years from S 1327 to 1375 (1405-1453 A.D.). The earliest record of Lakkanna found in the Madurai country is dated S 1360 (1438 A.D.) and is from Ranniur⁴. Lakkanna is said to have led a victorious expedition to Ceylon in about 1435 A.D.⁵ He ruled over the Madurai province with the title "*Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati*" ("Lord of the Southern Ocean"),⁶

It is not clear what happened after Lakkanna's governorship of Madurai was over. Very likely the province of Madurai was reorganised by Lakkanna. The Pāṇḍya feudatories, the Bānādarāyas, seem to have been put in charge of the administration of

1. The identity of Poṟkāṇḍaiyār is not clear. Virūpākṣa was a nephew of Kampaṇa and was a governor of the Madurai country. It is not known whether Virūpākṣa also had the name Poṟkāṇḍaiyār.

2. E.I., Vol. III, pp. 227, 228; H.W. Codrington *A Short History of Ceylon* pp. 84-85.

3. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.* p. 53.

4. M.I.R., 141 of 1903.

5. B.I.L. Vol. VII, No. 778.

6. M.I.R. 128 of 1901, 141 of 1903, 567 of 1904, 100 of 1911.

the Madurai country by the Vijayanagara viceroys, a result of his provincial reorganisation.¹ The Madurai chronicles state that the Bānādarāyas were illegitimate sons of the Pāṇḍyas by a dancing girl Aśvāmī of Kāṭavārkkōyil and that they were brought over to Madurai by Lakkanna and vested with royal power. From about 1450 to 1500 A.D. Vijayanagara inscriptions do not occur in the Madurai region. Inscriptions of the period show the Bānādarāyas ruling in the Madurai, Rāmpad region and the Pāṇḍyas in the Tinnevely areas.

Towards the close of the 15th c. there appears to have been another attempt to bring the southern regions under stricter control of Vijayanagar. Narasa Nāvaka the powerful minister of Immadi Narasimha and father of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was the virtual overlord of the country. He undertook an extensive southern campaign. During the course of this campaign he is said to have conquered the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Cēra and taken the city of Madurai.² While old accounts state that he took the city of Madurai there is no agreement regarding the ruler of Madurai. The *Pāṇḍyaśāhasaśayamu* says that Narasa killed the Cōla and took Madurai. The *Ayutārāśāhasaśayamu* says that he killed the Marava and captured Madurai while the *Varadāmbikōpamāyamu* says that when Narasa Nāvaka entered Madurai he was received by the ruler with gift and presents.³ According to epigraphical evidence Narasa defeated Mānabhūṣa, the king of Madurai.⁴ But the texts of the verses containing the reference to Mānabhbūṣa seem to imply that Mānabhbūṣa was neither a Cōla or Cēra nor a Pāṇḍya but someone other than these three. Probably he has to be considered for the present as an unidentified chief who had control over Madurai.

In S. 1410-1488 A.D. a Mahāpala-Vānādarāya was ruling in Madurai.⁵ It is not clear whether he continued to rule here for about

1. Dr. N. Kṛṣṇaswami Aiyangar *op cit.* p. 10.

2. Dr. N. K. Aiyangar *op cit.* pp. 66, 103, 170-71.

3. During the 15th and 16th c. the names Cōla and Pāṇḍya seem to have been used rather indiscriminately. Vide Dr. N. Venkataramanayya *Further sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, p. 169, n.

4. I.C. Vol. VIII, No. 64 "Ceram Cōlam ca Pāṇḍyam tam apā ca Madhurāya abham Mānabhbūṣam. Kṛṣṇapāṇam plates of Sadashivaraya. E.I. Vol. IX, pp. 135-40. Udayambāktam grant of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. E.I. Vol. XIV, pp. 171, 175.

5. M.E.R. 44 of 1908.

ten years more till the advent of Narasā or while he was dislodged by some chieftain from other regions. Nor is it clear whether the term *Mānabhuṣa*, being a general title for the Pāṇḍyas, may be taken to apply to the Bāṇa-larāya ruler in the sense that he was ruling over the Pāṇḍya country and thus was entitled to the Pāṇḍya titles.¹

The Pāṇḍya king said to have been defeated by Narasā may have been one of the rulers of Tenkāśī, perhaps Jātavarman Parākrama Kulasekhara Pāṇḍya who ruled from 1479-1499 A.D.²

The probable date of Narasā's attack upon Madurai was about 1496-97 A.D. An inscription dated 18th March 1497 A.D. states that Immaḍi Kācappa Nāvaka had gone to Sethubandha-Rāmēśvaram with Narasā Nāvaka.³ The *Madurai-talavaralāy* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* provide a confirmation very closely to this date by saying that in *Paikā* of S. 1422 (1497 A.D.) Narasāya Nāyakkar (or Narasā Nāyakkar) went and offered worship at Rāmēśvaram and also captured the fort of Madurai. An epigraph dated S. 1420 (1498 A.D.) mentions the collection of tribute for payment to "the Rāya who took Madura." This is evidently a reference to Immaḍi Narasimha in whose name Narasā conquered the southern regions.⁴ Following the southern conquests a series of inscriptions of Immaḍi Narasimha, beginning with S. 1421 *Siddhārthi* (1499 A.D.) appear in the Madurai and Ramanad districts.⁵

The Sāṭya rule in the Madurai country appears to have been a period of great oppression and heavy taxation. An epigraph⁶ of S. 1423 (1501 A.D.) from Tirukkālākkuḍi in Ramanad district says

1. Arikesari Parākrama Pāṇḍya 1422-63 A.D., the Tenkāśi Pāṇḍya ruler who had the titles of *Mānabhuṣana*, *Mānabharana* and *Mānakavaca* is identified with *Mānabhuṣana* who was defeated by Narasā. This identification does not seem to be correct owing to the interval of nearly 30 years between the end of his reign and Narasā's attack upon Madurai.

2. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 247.

3. M.E.R. 719 of 1917.

4. M.E.R. 211 of 1942.

5. M.E.R. 89 of 1908, S. 1421, 139, 151 of 1903, 2, 3 of 1924 all dated > 1422, 47 of 1916, S. 1424.

6. M.E.R. 50 of 1916.

that it was the period of occupation by the Kannaḍagas (Karnāṭakas) and says that the farmers were so harassed by the heavy taxation imposed upon them that they had to sell their lands in order to pay the taxes and had to leave their homes.

During the first half of the 16th c. epigraphs of the Bāpādarāyas occur side by side with records of various Vijayanagara officers in the Madurai country. The Tamil chronicles mention a list of Vijayanagara officers who ruled over Madurai from about 1497 to 1559 A.D. The period when Kṛṣṇalēvarāya, Acyuta and others also ruled in Vijayanagar. A number of these names may be recognised in the epigraphs of the period. But apart from the meagre information supplied by these epigraphs, not much is known about them.

The *Madurai-tattavaralāṅkā*¹ says that the Nāyaka governors of Madurai were Tenni Nāyakkār (1500-1512 A.D.), Nāccappa Pillai (1513-1517 A.D.), Kūrukūru Timmappa Nāyakkār (1517-1521 A.D.), Kuṭṭuṇai Kāmaray Nāyakkār (1521-23 A.D.), Chinappa Nāyakkār (1524-27 A.D.), Iyakkaraṇai Vēyappa Nāyakkār (1527-32 A.D.), Visveśvāyakkārāyaṇ (1533-42 A.D.), Varuṇa Maṇṇargal (1542-44 A.D.), Viṣṇuśaṅka Nāyakkārāyaṇ (1544-45 A.D.), Viṭṭala Rāja (Viṭṭhala Rāja) (1546-57 A.D.)², and Turunappa Nāyakkār, Cellaṅga Nāyakkār and Paṭṭukkōṭṭai Virappa Nāyakkār (1558-60 A.D.).

Two records of 1516 A.D. and 1519 A.D.³ mention Rāyarvāśai Timmappa Nāyaka as the administrator (*karṇāṭar*) of Madurai. These are evidently references to Kūrukūru Timmappa (1517-21 A.D.) mentioned in the chronicles. In 1522 A.D. Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasa made the gift of a village in Dāḍikkombu in the Dundigal Taluk.⁴ The Chinappa Nāyaka (1524-27 A.D.) of the chronicles figures in a record of 1526 A.D.⁵ from Tiruvēḍāgam, near Madurai, and is mentioned as the king's *oṣai kāriyam* in the reign of Acyuta.⁶

1. *The Pandyan Chronicle and the Madurai Stronikas*. *Paralāṅkā* give a similar list with a few minor variations.

2. This is a reference to Ramaraja Viṭhala who was in charge of the southern district during the reign of Saṅgaaya.

3. M.E.R. 455 of 1896 from Annapalai, 447 of 1924.

4. M.E.R. 4 of 1894.

5. M.E.R. 677 of 1905.

6. M.E.R. 33 of 1929.

Viśvanāyakkaraṇyan (1533-42 A.D.) (also called Viśvanātha Nāyaka) and Viśvanātha Nāyakkaraṇyan (1544-45 A.D.) mentioned in the chronicles were evidently Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Kuṭiyam Nāgama Nāyaka. For a brief interlude of two years, 1542-44 A.D., the chronicles state that Varada Maṇnargal governed the Maṭluras country. During this period Viśvanātha Nāyaka was probably transferred to another region. An epigraph from Śrīraṅgam dated Ś. 1461 refers to Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Trucināpalli Cāyaḍi¹. A record from Alagarkōyil, dated Ś. 1464 (1542 A.D.), mentions an order communicated by Varanāsi Varadappa Apparaṇṇavar who is called the 'kumāra' of Acyuta-lēva Maḍārāya. This is probably a reference to the Varada Maṇnargal of the chronicles. It is not clear whether he was related to Acyuta or whether 'kumāra' was merely an endearing term.

When Kṛṣṇadēvarāya died in 1530 A.D. his brother and successor Acyuta had to face a formidable rebellion in the empire², the direct result of which was the establishment of the Nāyaka dynasty at Maṭluras. Sāluya Vira Narasimha alias Cēllappa³ was a powerful viceroy in the south⁴ during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign. He allied with Tambicci Nāyaka of Paramakuḍi and the Tiruvāḍi king of Venṇāḍ (Travancore), Udayamārtuṇḍa and rose in rebellion against him. To drive out the Tenkasi Pāṇḍya ruler Jaṭṭayarman Śrīrāmaṇa Acyutarāya sent an army commanded by his brother-in-law Salakaraja Tirumala to put down the rebels. The army progressed upto the banks of the Tāmbraparṇi where a pillar of victory was set up after crushing the rebels. Acyuta restored the Pāṇḍya to his kingdom and accepted his daughter as his bride. Sāluya Vira Narasimha

1. M.E.R. 264 of 1930.

2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 22 ff. for details of Acyuta's southern campaign.

3. M.E.R. 91 and 92 of 1908 from Ramanad; 399 of 1906 from Podukkottai.

4. M.E.R. 91 and 92 of 1908 dated Ś. 1432 and 1423 from Tiruputtur (Ramanad District) record gifts and villages to a temple "for the merit of Cēllappa alias Vira Narasimha"; Nuntz and Rajanatha Dindima state that Saluva Nāyaka alias Cēllappa was the governor of the Cola and the Pandya countries during the reign of Kṛṣṇaraya and that he continued to hold this post even after Acyuta's accession; Vide Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, App. B., pp. 453-61.

and his allies were captured and brought as prisoners to the king's camp at Srirangam. Saluva Narasimha and Tumbicci Nāvaka were probably pardoned. The events probably took place in about 1532 A.D. or a little earlier, since a number of epigraphs dated S. 1454-1532 A.D., refer to Acyuta's victories¹.

Soon after Sadāśiva's coronation in 1543 A.D. an expedition was sent against the extreme south, under Cina Timma, the cousin of Rāmarāja who had raised Sadāśiva to the throne and was the *de facto* ruler. A powerful personality who helped Cina Timma in his victorious southern campaigns was his brother Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala. Viṭṭhala was then left in charge of the southern region of the empire. In the later Vijayanagar period, while provinces were given internal autonomy, the independence of the Nāvakas or provincial governors appears to have been kept under check by "Special Commissioners"². Sale by sale with Viśvatāra, the Nāvaka of Madurai, Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala seems to have been appointed "special commissioner" in the same locality. He styled himself a *Rājadhīraja* and a *Mahāmandalēśvara*³. Numerous epigraphs of his occur in the Madurai region⁴. Before succeeding in his expedition against the Tiruvār country he dispatched an end to certain troubles on the fishery coast. Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala had very wide powers and he controlled the imperial sway over the whole of South India. During the time of Tirumala, Prince Venkaṭa appears to have been another "Special Commissioner" over the Pāṇḍya (Jōj), Cōla (Panjore) and Pāṇḍya (Madurai) countries with his capital at Candragiri.

C. The Bānadarāyas in Madurai

The Bānas or Bānadarāyas were a family of feudatories who figure as chieftains under one South Indian power after another. Starting as a political power in the 4th c. A.D., they served as feudatories successively under the Satavāhanas, the Kaṭambas of Banavāsi,

1. M.E.R. 50 of 1900, 157, 158 of 1924.

2. Dr T.V. Mahalingam *Administration & Social Life under Vijayanagar*, pp. 202-203.

3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 247.

4. M.E.R. 51st of 1907, 385, 573-718 of 1916, 93 of 1929, 1 of 1932, 268 of 1941.

the Chūlkas of Vātāpi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed, the Pallavas of Kāncī, and the Cōlas, and later on, under the Pāṇdyas and Vijayanagara kings¹. They appear to have tried to set up independent rule whenever the political situation afforded them a chance.

The Bānas appear to have been a small tribe whose early home was in the area round about the modern Kolar and Kurnool districts during the early centuries of the Christian era. They first served as the feudatories of the Satavāhanas and the early Pallavas.

The Bānas gradually and steadily migrated southwards through the centuries. When the Cālukyas expanded their power in the 7th c. A.D., the Bānas were forced to move south. They migrated and settled down in the region of the Pālār basin with Tiruvallam as their new capital. This area covered the western part of the Chittoor district, and the north-west part of the North Arcot district, and was called Perumbāṇappāṭi in Tamil epigraphs or Viḍagayil in the Sanskrit inscriptions. Between the 8th and 10th cts. A.D. the Bānas appear to have changed their allegiance often, between the Gangas or Pallavas, or Rāṣṭrakūṭas, according to the exigencies of the time. After the battle of Śrīperambayam (c. 880 A.D.) when Pallava power was weakening the Bānas tried to set up independent rule. But the Bāna independence was short-lived. In the Cōla Parāṇaka I conquered Perumbāṇappāṭi by about 915 A.D.² As a result one branch of the Bānas migrated to the north to the present Coimbatore and Krishna districts. Another branch accepted Cōla overlordship and served as loyal feudatories. They moved to the south and settled in the region of the South Pennār river. This area came to be called Vānagoppāṭi, Magadamanḍalam and Magararājya and appears to have included parts of the modern South Arcot, Salem and Trichinopoly districts.³

In the course of the 13th c. when Cōla power declined, the Bānas became the feudatories of the Pāṇdyas and settled down in the modern Trichinopoly and Madurai districts. The Bānas held various offices under the mediaeval Pāṇdyas and bore their titles and names.

1. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, *The Bānas in South Indian History*, *Journals of Indian History*, Vol. 29, pp. 153-54.

2. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-80.

3. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-91.

Mājavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1216 A.D.) appears to have been helped by a Bāṇa chieftain during his campaigns against the Cōḷa Kulottunga III in about 1216-17 A.D. It was perhaps as a reward for this help that he gave a part of the Cōḷa country to the Bāṇa.¹ Under Mājavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Sundara Pāṇḍya Vāṇādarāyan figures as an officer.² A record of Mājavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II mentions a Śivalayan Maduraiṇṇarūḷi alias Vāṇa-kōvarāyan of Irāṣaraśapuram in Kongu maṇḍalam.³ In a record of Vikrama Pāṇḍya⁴ a Mahabali Vanaravar is referred to as the king's *mudai*. Vāṇādarāyas figure in the reign of Mājavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya⁵ both of whom refer to the Hoysala Sōmēśvara as their uncle *mōṇaḍi*.

In the 21st year (1274 A.D.) of Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya the officers of a Māvah Vāṇādarāya are stated to have attacked Marava Madurai and led away the livestock.⁶ In the reign of Mājavarman Kulāṣēkhara I a Pillai Mahābali Vāṇarāvar was the governor of Kōṇāḍu.⁷ He was perhaps also called Pillai Kulāṣekhara.⁸

Some of the Pāṇḍya kings speak of their Bāṇa feudatories in endearing terms like *pūḷai* and *makkai*.⁹ Often the names of the kings were also attached to those of the chieftains. Thus they were called Sundara Pāṇḍya Vāṇādarāyar, Parākrama Pāṇḍya Mahābali Vāṇādaravar and so on. From some of their epigraphs it may be surmised that the Vāṇādarāyas had dynastic connections with the Pāṇḍyas. Hence the terms *pūḷai* and *makkai* applied to them may not always mean mere terms of endearment. Four records of Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya¹⁰ mentioned above, refer to the throne

1. M.E.R. 481 of 1908 and 196 of 1939. The latter calls the Bāṇa chief the "Magadurkar". This shows that the Bāṇas hailed from Mzadai country.

2. M.E.R. 125 of 1894.

3. M.E.R. 317 of 1928.

4. M.E.R. 436 of 1938.

5. M.E.R. 312 of 1928, 187-91 and 194 of 1944.

6. I.P.S. 380.

7. I.P.S. 375.

8. Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

9. M.E.R. 430 of 1907, 58 and 104 of 1916.

10. M.E.R. 188-191 of 1944.

Vāṇādarāyan and a royal order made at the instance of Annan Vāṇādarāvar. In two records¹ of Mājavarmān Saṅgāra Pāṇḍya II, one Arulalan Śēvagattevan alias Vāṇādhurāvar of Taccanūr is styled the king's *ammān* and is stated to have carried on many repairs to the Madurai temple. These records state that he granted a village for offerings to God Tiruvālavuḍa vār during the service instituted by him in the temple and for feeding *Paradēṣikkōvanavār* reciting the *Tirumōḍi* in *Sādōrippan* in the month of *Mārgaḷ* (while the deity halted at the Vāṇādarāvar *āṣāl* entrance) to the south of the shrine of the Goddess.

Mahābal, Vāṇādarāvar referred to in a third record of the same king, is evidently the same person.² Thus under the medieval Pāṇḍyas the Bāṇādarāyas often occupied positions of prominence.

In the latter half of the 15th c. A.D. during the Vijayanagar viceroyalty many Bāṇādarāya chieftains are found to be ruling over the Madurai region, perhaps as Vijayanagara feudatories. It is not known why or how exactly they happened to be ruling over Madurai at that time. A probable explanation has been attempted earlier in this chapter. The *Maduraiṭṭammaralōgu* and the *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* give the names of the persons brought over by Lakkṇaṇa from Kālūṭṭkōṭṭi to rule over Madurai. They were Śaṅgaratōḷ Māval Vāṇādarāvar³, Kālūṭṭar Somnār, Aṇḍāḍo Perumāḷ, Maruvār and Tirumal Māval Vāṇādarāvar. They are stated to have ruled for 48 years from *Sukla* (S. 1374) to *Naja* (1452-1500 A.D.).

In engravings of the period there are references to some of the Bāṇādarāya rulers and their activities. A Tiruvannam jōṭṭam *arār* of the Māval Vāṇādarāyan was called the *Māḷiṭṭapūṭṭi Māvalaṭṭan* and S. 1380 was a subordinate of the Vijayanagara king⁴ who witnessed the elephant hunt⁵ probably Dēvarāya II.⁶

1. M.E.R. 187, 192 of 1944.

2. M.E.R. 194 of 1944.

3. The *Māvalaṭṭammar* for 1452 says that Abhiram had six sons and that Sundara Māval Vāṇādarāvar was the eldest.

4. M.E.R. 5-4 of 1926. M.E.R. 1427, pt. II, para 91.

In 1453 A.D. Urangāvilīdāsana *alias* Mahābal. Vāṇādarāyar was ruling in the Madurai country¹. He seems to have had the name Tīrumāṇi-rūṇi-jolamirān also since epigraphs call him Tīrumāṇi-rūṇi-jolamirān Māvalivāṇādarāyan *alias* Urangāvilīdāsana² or Tīrumāṇi-rūṇi-jolamirān Māvalivāṇādarāyan Urangāvilīdāsana³. His inscriptions range from Ś 1375 (1453 A.D.) to Ś 1399 (1477 A.D.)⁴. His consort was Śriranga Nāyikā⁵.

He appears to have been a powerful ruler. During the days of the Vijayanagara emperors Maṇikārjuna and Viṭṭalākṣa Rāya (1447-85 A.D.) the imperial government was weak. Taking advantage of the political situation the Bāṇa ruler, who was Śaṅkara (Śaṅkara-dāyaka), seems to have risen against the imperial authority, marched as far north as Kāñche and occupied it for a brief period. Soon, within a few years, it was beaten back by Sāliya Narasimha⁶.

Two records from Kāñche bear testimony to the Bāṇa occupation of the city. One of them dated Ś 1391 (1479 A.D.)⁷ in which the ruler is styled "Bhuvarekavīra Samarakolāṭṭala" registers the grant of two villages named Samarakolāṭṭalūr and Bruvānakavirūṇiūr in the Pāṇḍya country to the temples of Cāmuntūtha and Kāṇākṣi at Kāñche. The other epigraph⁸ in Tamil verse is in praise of Māvalivāṇan and seems to refer to the defeat of Vajrahi (Pāṇḍya).

1. M.E.R. 577 of 1926; I.A.S., Vol. I, p. 53.

2. An epigraph dated 1457 A.D. recently copied in Puzayyaganam.

3. M.E.R. 397 of 1930; M.E.R. 219 of 1939 from Alagarkoil giving the name Tīrumāṇi-rūṇi-jolamirān Mahāvāṇādarāyar Urangāvilīdāsana *alias* Samarakolāṭṭala evidently belongs to this ruler.

4. M.E.R. 577 and 578 of 1926; 306 and 307 of 1930, S.I.I., Vol. I, Nos. 138-40.

5. M.E.R. 573 of 1926.

6. Vijayanagara records dated 1471 and 1472 as Kāñche show the restoration of the imperial hold over the place, 39 of 1890, 9 of 1911, 6, 3 of 1919 etc.

7. M.E.R. 25 of 1890; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 34B.

8. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 348A.

The emblem of the Bāṇas appears to have been that of the *Garuḍa* as may be inferred from their title *Garuḍakēṭana*. The coins with the legends *Samarakōṭhahan* and *Bhuvanaskaviran* on the reverse and the figure of a *garuḍa* kneeling on a fish (the Pāṇḍya emblem) evidently belong to the Bāṇanārāyas and were probably issued in commemoration of their success over the Pāṇḍyas.

The Bāṇas assumed many titles such as "Bhuvakēkavīra", "Samarakōṭhan", "Vēṇai Kavalar", "Vīra Karakan"¹, "Sārvabhauma", "Mūvarāyaganjan", "Rājaraṣaragan", "Bhūpālagōpālan" and so on.

The Maṇai of Tirumāl-tōṭan was theeditary domain of the Bāṇanārāyas. Maṇakōṭi was most probably their political capital. They made many beneficent endowments to the temples at Viṅgar-koy and Srīraṅgaṭūr. They are also the *Garuḍa* worshippers and *Aḍaṇṭ* foundation was their sign manual². These would indicate that they were ancient Viṣṇuvas. But their religious orientation is also shown by the fact that they extended their beneficent endowments to the great temple at Madurai also.

The Bāṇas continued to rule in the Madurai region under Vijaya-gara overlords up till about the founding of the Nāyaka dynasty at Madurai.

Tirumāl-tōṭanraṇ was succeeded by his son Sundarat-tōṭ Jayān Māvah-vāṇāderāyar³. A record of S. 1438 (1516 A.D.)⁴ mentions Sundarat-tōṭ Jayār *alias* Iṇḍakāḷameṇḍu Māvah-vāṇāderāyar. It is not clear whether this has also to be assigned to the ruler mentioned above. At a slightly later period there is mention of another ruler called Sundarat-tōṭ Jayār whose epigraphs are found from S. 1452 (1530 A.D.) to S. 1458 (1535 A.D.)⁵.

1. All these titles are attributed to a Virapratapa Sundaravēṇḍavan Mahabali Vanadharaja in a record dated 1483 A.D. from Nekkonam in Pudukkottai.

2. M.F.R. 75 of 1894, S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 348. The Tirumangaiyola Aṅgar seems to have been the family deity of the Bāṇanārāyas.

3. M.F.R. 573 of 1905. M.F.R. 44 of 1900 dated S. 1410 mentions Tirumāl-tōṭ Nāyaka a feudatory of Mahābalavāṇāderāja. The identity of this Bāṇa ruler is not clear.

4. M.F.R. 447 of 1924.

5. M.F.R. 582, 583, 587, 588A of 1902; 109, 113, 124 of 1903, 451 of 1924.

With the rise of the Nāyakas of Madurai the Bānadarāvas declined in power probably due to defeats they might have sustained at the hands of the Madurai Nāyakas¹ or possibly due to failure of heirs in the direct line. During the Nāyaka regime the Bānas appear to have made attempts from time to time to reassert their power.² Inscriptions of the Bānadarāvas continue to occur in the Madurai country as late as 1608 A.D.³

1. The Padmaneri grant says that Vuvanaṭṭa Nayaka defeated a Vanadarava.

2. Varappa Nayaka (1572-95 A.D.) is stated to have crushed the rebellion of a Maval Vanadarava who had fomented Manamadurai and Kaccavarkoyil, and to have confiscated his possessions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV, p. 91, R. Sathianatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks of Madurai* p. 79, M.E.R. 1910, para 33.

3. M.E.R. 54 of 1926, 91 of 1929. I.P.S. 758 dated 1577 A.D. refers to a Surakudi chief entertaining Mavals.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NAYAKAS OF MADURAI

A. Political History

From about the middle of the 16th c. A.D. the *nāyankāra* system became a prominent feature of the Vijayanagara provincial organisation. Under this system the king was regarded as the owner of the soil and he distributed lands to his dependents who were called *Adāyaka*. The Nayakas ruled over these territories with great independence. In return they paid a fixed annual contribution to the imperial government and maintained a sufficient number of troops, and helped the king in his wars. In course of time the Nāyakas became independent when the central control grew weak and inefficient. The Nāyakas of Madurai, Tanjore and Junji started as the subordinate rulers of Vijayanagara, and soon rose to great prominence.

Vijaynatha Nayaka the son of Kalyana Nāgama Nāyaka has been credited with the founding of the Nāyaka dynasty of Madurai. From that time the territories of Madurai recovered again and for nearly two centuries a period of peace and prosperity reigned. The Nāyaka administration was established. After the fall of Vijayanagara the Nāyakas of Madurai tried to protect Hindu independence against the Mohammedans. Administration was improved and a system of land revenue was introduced. There was a flourishing activity in erecting temples and places of worship throughout the Madurai country. A series of edicts given to many royal palaces everywhere. The literature and art of the period was marked by a synthesis of the two great Dravidian cultures, Tamil and Telugu. This was equally noticeable in the case of the temples where were not brought together under Telugu domination. The rulers, though most of them were Vaishnavas themselves, maintained a certain amount of departmental and gave their beneficence. Śaiva and Viṣṇu temples alike.

The popular version of the origin of the Nāyaka dynasty in Madurai centres round a quarrel between Vijayekṣara Cōja and Candrasekhara Pāṇḍya. The latter appealed to Kṛṣṇadeva Raya for help. It is stated that Nāgama Nāyaka was sent by the Vijayanagara ruler to the south to help restore the Pāṇḍya ruler. Nāgama restored order but not the Pāṇḍya. When Nāgama disobeyed

Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's orders to restore the Pāṇḍya king, Viśvanātha Nāyaka, the son of Nāgama, was sent by the Rāya to bring back Nāgama alive or dead and restore the Pāṇḍya ruler. Viśvanātha defeated his own father and was made according to popular version again the viceroy of the south by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. After some time, the Pāṇḍyaruler having died without a legitimate heir, Viśvanātha Nāyaka became the sole ruler of the southern country and thus founded the Nāyaka dynasty. This version which later came was given by the vernacular chronicles such as the *Tanjavūr Aṇḍra Rāya Cūḍa*, is a legendary account drawn up probably on the basis of a few historical incidents. At present one is not able to ascertain the truth of the accounts of the chronicles since other corroboratory sources of information are not available.

Viśvanātha Nāyaka was the son of Kōṭṭavar Nāgama Nāyaka. He was of the Kassapa gōtra and hailed from Kāñcī.¹ Nāgama Nāyaka is mentioned in several inscriptions as an officer of the Vijayanagara rulers² but these do not contain any information about his insurrection. An epigraph dated S. 1485 (1563 A.D.) states that Viśvanātha Nāyaka had acquired the Tanjavādēśa (Tanjavore, as *tanjavādyaḥam* from Rāmarājya Ayya³. The Paṇṇanēri grant⁴ and the Vellangad plates⁵ state that Viśvanātha conquered in battle the Truvadi, i.e. the ruler of Travancore, the Pāṇḍya

1. M.E.R. 25 of 1909, 245 of 1913, 111 of 1939. M.E.R. 1930, P. II para 48.

2. Nāgama Nāyaka is referred to in M.E.R. 37 of 1903 (1475 A.D.) and 46 of 1887 and 6 of 1903 dated 1482 A.D. M.E.R. 378 of 1909 (1484 A.D.) says that he was the *manipatadi* (foreman) of the servants of the king. M.E.R. 46 of 1909 (1501 A.D. M. rām Siṅgaṇa Rāmāḍi Dēvārāyaṇa) that Nāgama held the Pīṭtānma Senna. M.E.R. 192 of 1933, 111 of 1939. Nāgama is from Nodiyūr in Tanjore.

3. M.E.R. 17 of 1919. *Tanjavūrmīḥ* vol. 49 also states that he conquered the Tanjavād. Besides Ayya's expedition against the Truvadi in about 1533-31 A.D. Rāmavaya Ayya also led another expedition against the Truvadi in about 1543 A.D. in the reign of Saṅgaṇa I. It is not certain in which of these expeditions Viśvanātha participated or whether he helped in both.

4. M.E.R. 14 in Appendix A, 1906 E.J., Vol. XVI p. 288.

5. E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 298 ff.

king, the Vāṭṭaśārāva and other kings and established his sway over the Maṇḍārāṭya. A Śaṇḍarattoluda-ār Maṇḍavāṇālarāvar was ruling in the Maṇḍarai country from about 1530 to 1535 A.D. In an epi-graph dated S. 145 (3)¹ he calls himself, the Vijayavāṭṭaśārāvar. He was probably the Bāṇādarāya ruler said to have been defeated by Viśva-vāṭha.

The exact date of the establishment of the Nāṭṭa dynasty at Madurai is another problem which presents many difficulties. The date 1539 A.D. given by Nelson is generally regarded as correct. Story and Jayasankaras are of the opinion that Viśva-vāṭha established his dominion at Madurai as early as 1529 A.D. in Kṛṣṇaśāya Rāya's reign.² Another opinion is that the Navaka dynasty was founded not by Viśva-vāṭha but by his son Kṛṣṇappa.³ Epigraphical evidences and accounts of the chronicles prove that Viśva-vāṭha was administering the Madurai country in some capacity or other from about 1532-33 A.D.⁴ onwards. With regard to the events of

1. M.E.R. 451 of 1924.

2. R. Sankararaja Aiyar, *History of the Navakas of Madurai*, pp. 10-47. M.E.R. 1997, part II, para 37.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India*, p. 927, Dr. N. Venkatasubramanian's *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, ApJ. B., 1, 4-31 and *Vijayanagara History*, pp. 239-41.

4. The *Maduraiśāhānam* and the *Pondicherry* say that Viśva-vāṭha Navaka ruled at Madurai from 1511 to 1542 A.D. and from 1544 to 1546 A.D. and that he again came to Madurai under the Rayas' orders and ruled from 1546 to 1552 A.D. While all these dates cannot be accepted as being accurate the fact is known that he administered the Madurai country for some years. The earliest record of Viśva-vāṭha is an epi-graph dated 1532 A.D. (M.E.R. 68 of 1924). In this record he says that he was an official servant of Araya. In M.E.R. 113 of 1906 dated 1534-35 A.D. Araya grants a village to a temple for the benefit of an officer Viśva-vāṭha Navaka. In M.E.R. 43 of 1949 dated 1536 A.D. Viśva-vāṭha makes a gift to the Srirangam temple of ten silver chains of weighing weight had been assigned to him by Araya. M.E.R. 264 of 1930 dated 1540 A.D. refers to Viśva-vāṭha Navaka of Tirunelveli district. Ten or about ten years' epi-graphs of the reign do not mention him. In M.E.R. 509 and 721 of 1900 dated 1550 A.D. from Tirunelveli district he figures as the agent of Rāmārāja Viśvaṭha. In M.E.R. 85 of 1916 dated 1558 A.D. from Tirunelveli district he is conjured as the agent, *kōṭṭakāṇḍi* of Rāmārāja. M.E.R. 621 of 1915 dated 1560 A.D. shows his presence in South Arcot. The above records would show that from about 1532 A.D. Viśva-vāṭha served as a royal Vijayanagara officer in various parts of the empire.

1533 A.D. John Nieuhoff says "there are three Nayks in this part of India, viz., The Nayk of Madure the Nayk of Tanjore and the Nayk of Gingi.....their predecessors having in ancient times been only governors of those countries they are now possessed of under the jurisdiction of the kings of Vidia Nagar, Bismagar or Narasingha, but having revolted against their liege-lord each of them assumed the royal power and title". The information contained in Nieuhoff's letter as well as the fact that Viśvanātha appears to have occupied a high position of trust and responsibility throughout Aryuta's reign probably would indicate that Viśvanātha might be credited with the founding of the Nāyakhship of Madurai early in the reign of Aryuta, if not earlier.

Viśvanātha Nāvaka was a good administrator and was ably assisted in his work by Ariyanātha Madala the well-known *datacāy* and *pradhāni* who served under the first four Nāyaka rulers. With his help Viśvanātha demolished the old Pāṇḍya rampar and ditch which at that time surrounded the walls of the temple, and constructed an extensive double-walled fortress with 72 bastions. One of Viśvanātha's memorable works was the organisation of the Madurai country into *pāṇḍyam*. It is said that 72 *pāṇḍyam*s were created and that each *pāṇḍyagār* was left in charge of one of the 72 bastions of the Madurai fort. He improved the great temple at Madurai. He strengthened the defence of Tiruchanopoly. Ariyanātha suppressed a rising of "five Pāṇḍyas" in the region of Kaṇār in Tiruvelly and restored order. Viśvanātha ruled till 1564 A.D. and remained loyal and subordinate to Vijayanagar.

Viśvanātha was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇappa Nāvaka I (1564-72 A.D.). It is said that in his reign one Tumbiccā Nāvaka rebelled in the region of Paramakuda in Ramanadu and was suppressed. The Kṛṣṇāpura plates* dated 1567 A.D. state that Kṛṣṇappa defeated the Tiruvadi king and that he had the title, "*Pāṇḍyakulasthā-pandārāya*". These facts taken along with the suppression of the rebellion of Tumbiccā Nāvaka show that Kṛṣṇappa took part in Aryuta's southern campaign against the Tiruvadi. The *Singhaja*

1. John Nieuhoff: *Voyages and Travels into Brazil and East India*. R. Sathyanathan. *Arya: History of the Nāyaks of Madurai* pp. 331-32.

2. E.L., Vol. IX, pp. 328-42.

Dolpa Katha gives a detailed account of the successful Ceylon expedition of Kṛṣṇappa. Not much confirmatory evidence is available regarding this exploit. Ariyanātha Madala continued as minister.

Kṛṣṇappa Nayaka was succeeded by his son Virappa Nayaka (1572-95 A.D.). A rebellion by Mahābali Vānādarāya in Maramadurai region is stated to have been promptly suppressed by Virappa and his territory confiscated. There is an epigraph of a Sandararajolādaiyan Māvalavanādarajan from Alagarkovil dated 1589 A.D.¹ He is probably the Bānādarāya defeated by Virappa. Ariyanātha is named to be the minister. Some epigraphs of Virappa Nayaka mention his Dalavāy Kanakappa Nāyakkar.² The later Pāṇḍya kings Varadanga (c. 1587 A.D.) and Abhirāma Ativirarāma Srivallabha (c. 1564 A.D.) the joint donors of the Pudukkottai grant³ were the contemporaries of Virappa. In his 9th and 10th years Srivallabha made several grants at Srivilliputhur for the merit of Virappa Nāyaka.⁴ This evidently indicates that these later Pāṇḍyas considered Virappa as their overlord.

Virappa enjoyed a long reign of peace and prosperity. Virappa, or Kṛṣṇa Virappa as he was called, was an able ruler who made many improvements to the kingdom. He appears to have been an ardent Śaiva and made many additions and improvements to the Madurai temple. He built the *Kambattai Maṇḍapa*, the Thousand pillar *Maṇḍapa*, the *Laruvārasamantadai* shrine, 16 other *gōpura*s and others and gave magnificent gifts to the temple. He may be easily ranked among the greatest individual contributors to the temple.

During Virappa's reign the first attempts were made by Fernandez to establish a Christian mission at Madurai but they turned out to be a failure.

Virappa had three sons: Kunāra Kṛṣṇappa, Viṣṇappa and Kaṣṭūrī Rāṅgappa. Kunāra Kṛṣṇappa or Kṛṣṇapp. Nāyaka II, 1595-

1. M.E.R. 91 of 1929.

2. M.E.R. 323 of 1923; 55 of 1924.

3. M.E.R. 79; Appendix A 190; T.A.S. Vol. I, p. 61.

4. M.E.R. 591, 592 of 1925.

to the Kanyā Bhagavat temple at Cape Comorin. These epigraphs fall in the reign of Mutu Kṛṣṇappa. From these it may be inferred that his son Mutu Virappa as prince was in charge of the Travancore region and that Mutu Virappa exercised effective control over these areas. Mutu Kṛṣṇappa is said to have built a town called Kṛṣṇapuram between Madurai and Tirupparankuram, "the ruins of which bear melancholy testimony to his liberality."¹

In the reign of Mutu Kṛṣṇappa the Christian missionaries, activities of De Nobili and his successors met with some amount of success due to the thorough-going schemes of conversion followed by De Nobili.

Mutu Kṛṣṇappa was followed by his son Mutu Virappa Nāyaka I (1609-23 A.D.).² Up till now all the Nāyaka rulers have been loyal to Vijayanagar. But troubles arose after the Vijayanagar emperor Venkata I died in 1614 A.D. Mutu Virappa seems to have taken advantage of the empire's weakness and disregarded its nominal suzerainty. He joined anti-imperialists Janji against imperialist Tanjore. The war ended with the triumph of the imperialist party and with the marriage of Virappa's daughter to Raghunatha Nāyaka of Tanjore. Mutu Virappa appears to have changed his capital from Madurai to Tiruchimpalli about 1616 A.D.³ Taking advantage of Mutu Virappa's war with Tanjore, the Raj of Mysore launched on a policy of aggression and annexation of the Madurai country. The local poligars of Virūpākṣi and Kunnivadi, however, repulsed the invaders.

Mutu Virappa tolerated the activities of the Christian missionaries only to a certain extent. De Nobili's work was also hampered by Fernandez's accusations against him, which led to a great

1. V. Rangachari, *The History of the Nayak Kingdom of Madurai*. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLV, p. 104.

2. There is some uncertainty about the date when Mutu Kṛṣṇappa died. Two letters of the missionary Robert de Nobili seem to indicate that he died in Dec. 1616. Rev. A. Sautiere, *The date of accession of Mutu Virappa Nāyaka I of Madurai attested by letters of his contemporary Fr. Robert de Nobili*. Journal of Indian History, 1951, p. 83 ff.)

3. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

loss of prestige. Faced with failure in Madurai, De Nebbi went towards the North.

Mutta Virappa was succeeded by his brother Trumala Nāvaka (1623-34 A.D.) the best known ruler of his dynasty. In the field of art and architecture his reign was a period of pomp, splendour and magnificence. But it is doubtful whether Trumala was an equally great genius in the sphere of politics, diplomacy and Statecraft. He changed his capital from Trichinopoly back to Madurai and carefully organised the defences of the kingdom. Ramappaiyar was the king's *dahadvy*. Trumala's reign was marked by a large number of military campaigns. Trumala was successful in his wars with Mysore. Ever since the time of Rāmārāja Viṭṭala's conquest of the Travancore, Travancore had been loyal to Vijayanagar but now there were signs of insubordination. Trumala undertook a successful expedition against Travancore in about 1634-35 A.D.¹ In Ramnad region there was a dispute between Sadaika Teva II (Palavāy Setupai), and his illegitimate brother "Tambi". Trumala at first sided with Tambi. The Portuguese and the Dutch also took sides in this war. Rāmappaiyar, with Rāganna Nāvaka as second in command, was in charge of the successful campaign against the Setupais.² Sadaika was defeated and Tambrā made the ruler. But when Tambi's rule proved weak and unpopular Trumala restored Sadaika. The Marava country was partitioned after Sadaika was murdered in 1645 A.D. Pāṇḍya Rājā Teva became the ruler and remained a staunch ally of Trumala. Raghunātha defeated the Maravas and crowned a Pongur rising at Ettaiyapuram and was rewarded liberally by Trumala.

In about 1634 Trumala was loyal to Vijayanagar, though it was only a nominal subordination. In later years forces of the Maravas made incursions actively against Vijayanagar. When Sriranga III marched to the south in about the middle of Trumala's reign, Trumala painted an alliance with the Nāvakas of Jiru and Tanjore, to oppose the emperor, but his plans were betrayed by the

1. I. A. S. vol. V, No. 62 dated Kovvur 811 = 1635 A.D. p. 208; T. Nagam Ayya, *The Travancore State Manual*, pp. 302-03.

2. The *Ramappaiyar Annals* gives a detailed account of the war.

Nāyaka of Tanjore. Then Tirumala requested the Golkonda Sultan to help him against the emperor. After defeating the emperor the Sultan turned against the other South Indian kingdoms. So Tirumala was forced to ask the Sultan of Bijapur for help. But all this only led to Muslim extension in the Carnatic.

Tirumala probably remained neutral in the contests between the Dutch and the Portuguese, in the south.

During his reign there was expansion of missionary activities towards the north and the west of Madurai and the Marava country. The missionaries suffered from persecution. In 1639 A.D. Tirumala made promises of freedom but again there was persecution in 1640 and 1644 A.D. De Nobili interviewed Tirumala for freedom of action. But the ruler's promises did not afford protection from papal persecution. De Nobili died in 1660 A.D.

Tirumala was the master builder of his age and he made significant contributions in the realms of art and architecture. He built the *Pudu Mandapa*, dug the *Vandiyār Teppakulam*, carried out many repairs and renovations to the Madurai temple and began the unfinished *Raya Gopura*. He also built an extensive palace to the south-east of the temple. Tirumala is credited with the building of many structures of religious and civil nature not only in Madurai but also in many other places such as Tirupparankunam, Alagarkoil, Srivilliputtur, etc.

Tirumala's successor Mutu Virappa ruled only for about three or four months, during which period he had to ward off Muslim attacks with bribes. Tirumala was followed by Cokkanātha Nāyaka, 1659-82 A.D., who was only 16 years old at the time of his accession. A cabal consisting of the *pradhān*, *rāyān* and *dewan* was formed for administrative work. Cokkanātha soon freed himself from their control. Then he had to overcome the conspiracies formed by the Dalavay Lingana Nāyaka.

In his reign there was much distress in Tanjore due to a severe famine. Madurai was also troubled by wars with beasts and epidemics. Cokkanātha was a weak ruler. He bought off the Bijapur army besieging Trichinopoly. He then took Valam. In the Marava country he met with reverses. Cokkanātha again changed the

capital from Madurai to Trichinopoly. He attempted to remove many of the precious materials from Tirumala Nāvaka's palace at Madurai with the aim of constructing a grand structure at Trichinopoly but he only succeeded in depriving Madurai of some of her precious artistic treasures. Wars with Mysore resulted in the loss of Coimbatore and Salem. Cokkanātha conquered Tanjore and appointed his foster brother Alagar Nāvaka (Mutu Alakāṇi) as its viceroy. But the Marathas who were in the Carnatic region headed by Ekoji, conquered and occupied Tanjore and drove out Alagar.

Cokkanātha Nāvaka was deposed and imprisoned and his foster brother Mutu Alakāṇi was made king in 1678 A.D. At this time one Rustam Khan, a Muslim adventurer, usurped the throne and ruled for about two years, with Cokkanātha as a puppet king. Rustam was murdered in about 1680 A.D. Cokkanātha was then besieged in Trichinopoly by the Mysore army and then by the Nāvaka of Jinji. The weak ruler died in 1682 A.D.

Mutu Virappa Nāvaka III or Ranga Kṛṣṇa Mutu Virappa (1682-89 A.D.) succeeded to a much reduced kingdom. Even Madurai town was in enemy hands at the time of his accession. After the end of the war between Mysore and Madurai, the Marathas tried to annex Madurai. But soon order was restored and many possessions were recovered. In the Marava country the Madurai army met with reverses. Ranga Kṛṣṇa's benevolence and enthusiasm helped a great deal in the restoration of order.

During his reign De Britto worked in the Madurai mission but returned to Portugal, due to persecution.

Ranga Kṛṣṇa died in 1689 A.D. After the birth of his posthumous son Vijayaranga Cokkanātha, Mutummāl, the queen of Ranga Kṛṣṇa, committed suicide. Vijayaranga was crowned when he was barely three months old, and his grandmother Mangammāl ruled as the regent. The tact and diplomacy of Mangammāl helped in maintaining amicable relations with the neighbouring powers. She bought off the Muslims and was subordinate and loyal to them. She also bribed the Mahrattas. She successfully resisted the aggressive policy of Chikadevarāya of Mysore. She undertook an expedition to Travancore to collect arrears of tribute.¹ Her war with Tanjore

1. V. Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State Manual*, I, pp. 197-8 & 317-8.

ended in peace and an alliance. In Ramnad Kilavan Setupati was becoming more and more independent. In about 1698 A.D. he besieged Madurai city and took it but was soon driven out. In 1702 A.D. it became completely independent.

Margammāl's religious policy was one of toleration. Her liberality regarding charities and public works is proverbial¹. She is said to have met with a tragic death in 1706 A.D.

From 1706 A.D. to 1732 A.D. Vijayaranga Cakkirāṭa ruled independently. He was deeply religious minded. His reign is a record of sufferings, steady decline and ruin of the kingdom due to his indifference and weakness. The country suffered from the mal-administration of the ministers. There were a severe famine and drought in the country. An inscription of 1710 A.D.² says that a temple servant fell down from the Madurai temple *gopura* as a protest against undue taxation. Salem and Coimbatore were permanently lost to Madurai at this period.

Vijayaranga was succeeded by his queen Mīnākṣī (1732 to 39-40 A.D.) whose short reign was marked by internal strife, succession disputes, foreign intervention and occupation. Mīnākṣī had no son. She adopted Vijayakumāra, the son of Bangāru Tirumala, who is said to have been a member of another branch of the royal family. Bangāru Tirumala plotted to depose the queen. Chanda Sahib was sent by the Nawab of Arcot to take Madurai and Tanjore. Chanda Sahib posed as an arbitrator between Mīnākṣī and Bangāru. Mīnākṣī tried to bribe Chanda Sahib with a sum of Rs. one crore. In the end Chanda Sahib turned treacherous and imprisoned Mīnākṣī in her own palace at Trichinopoly³ where she committed suicide. Madurai fell into the hands of the Muslims. Thus the Nāyaka dynasty of Madurai came to an end after having ruled for a period of nearly two centuries.

1. S. C. P. No. 47, 19, M.E.R. 733 of 1905, M.E.R. 3 of Appendix A, 1911; M.E.R. 19 of Appendix A, 1911, registering her gift of some villages to the Daraga of Bahadurpur shows her liberal religious views.

2. Burgess, pp. 110-1, No. 224, M.E.R. 6 of 1915.

3. S.C. Hull: *Tanjur Khan*, p. 12.

B. Administration and Social Life under the Nayakas

The Nāyakas of Madurai started as subordinates of the Vijayanagara empire. In the later stages of their rule this subordination had become only nominal. Yet one finds during the Nayakas' rule the influence of Vijayanagara reflected in its administration and in the social and economic life of Madurai.

The central government was carried on by the king assisted by his ministers such as the *dalavāy* or Prime Minister, the *pradhān*¹ or Finance Minister, the *rāyasam*² and others³. Very often the office of the *dalavāy* and the *pradhān* was found combined in the same person; for instance, Ariyanatha Mudali under the first four Nāyakas. Other powerful and talented *dalavāys* were Rāmappaiya in the reign of Tirumala Nāyaka⁴ and Narasappaiya under Mangammal.

The nature of the government greatly depended on the influence of the king's personality. This was one prominent source of weakness during the Nayaka rule. Under powerful rulers like Viśvanātha Nāyaka and Tirumala Nāyaka the kingdom rose to great heights of splendour and glory but under weak personalities like Cokkanatha and Vjayaranga Cokkanātra the kingdom suffered from a lack of strong central control and steadily declined and fell a prey to the aggressions of neighbouring powers.

The kingdom was divided into *pālayams* ruled over by *pāluyigal* (poligars), who had to pay a fixed financial contribution and supply a definite military quota to the Nāyaka ruler. Further, they were required to maintain a certain number of troops at the captain's or guarding each one of the 72 bastions of the Madurai fort.

1. I. R. 6 of 1915 mentions Pradhani Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇa. M. R. 1 of 1909 and S. I. T. I, Vol II 788, both dated 1550 A.D. state that the Mudaliyar was the *pradhān* of Cokkanātha Nāyaka.

2. An officer who was perhaps the head of the secretariat. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam: *South Indian Polity*, pp. 123, 137.

3. I. P. No. 43, mentions Alagiri Nayakkar, son of Poṭṭaṣam (Treasurer) Minakṣi Nāyakkar.

4. S. I. T. I Vol 1, No. 205, dated 1699 A.D. calls Rāmappaiya the *Sarvadhikarī* of the Madurai Samasthanam.

Their power seems to have varied with their distance from the capital. Some of these poligars were very powerful. Under weak rulers they tried to assert themselves and gain independence.

A large measure of local autonomy still continued, with the village as the unit of local administration. From inscriptions of the period it may be inferred that the provinces were divided into *nādu*, *śma* or *māṭina*, and village, variously called *grāma*, *mangalam*, *samudram*, *kudi*, *śr*, *karici*, *patti*, etc.,.

The administrative system was organised with a view to easy and speedy collection of revenue. The village revenue officer was called the *man,yakṣan* or *ambalakṣan*. The collections from villages were sent through the provincial officers to the centre. Land tax was the chief source of revenue. The amount of land tax collected was half of the produce of the land, according to the Jesuit writers.¹ Payment seems to have been in cash. Other sources of revenue were the income from crown lands, tribute from poligars amounting to one-third of the produce of their *pālayams*, revenue from the pearl and chank fisheries, and various taxes.

The chief items of expenditure seem to have been public works and charities. Large sums were expended on temples and irrigation works.² Salaries of officials, the army and the police and judicial departments do not seem to have been a serious drain on the public revenues.

With regard to commerce and industries the lack of a navy as well as self-sufficiency at home seem to have stood in the way of a vigorous foreign trade. The pearl and chank fisheries were in a flourishing condition and Madurai was famous for her cloth manufacture. The coastal area was left to the control of foreign nations such as the Dutch and the Portuguese.

1. Bertrand, *ib.*, p. 124, R. Sathannatha Aiyar. *History of the Nayaks of Madurai*, Appendix A, Letter No. 10.

2. M.E.R. 914 of 1922 refers to arrangements for feeding from the Villayur channel the ten tanks round the Trupparanthuram hill, S.I.T.I. Vol. II No. 760 mentions the repairs done to the head-stance of a channel which had been originally constructed by the Coimbatore and which had fallen into ruins.

The central government did not maintain an elaborate judicial establishment. Justice was mostly administered locally by the village officers. John Nieuhoff says that "each village had two judges".¹ But it is not clear how the two judges were nominated. Bouchet states that "every head of the village was judge of all causes arising within the limits of his village, and heard and determined causes, assisted by three or four experienced villagers selected by him as assessors. Most suits were for debt. Litigants pleaded in person or by a friend. Great order and decorum prevailed during the trial. After hearing the parties and their witnesses, the court dismissed them and took time to consider women were to be examined as witnesses only in cases of absolute necessity. A man or dissatisfied with the judgment of the head of the village was at liberty to appeal to the *manyakāran* or intendant of a group of villages. And a further appeal lay to the immediate officers of the Prince, who judge in the last resort".²

Sundry cases involving religious and social rights were heard by the king and his officers. Virappa Nāyaka with his *pradhāni* Arayanātha Mudaliyar and others once formed a committee to decide a boundary dispute regarding certain temple lands.³ On another occasion Virappa Nāyaka decided a dispute regarding the levy of betel leaves and areca nuts.⁴ The Jesuit letters also mention that the king heard and decided many complaints carried to him by the missionaries.

The *pradhāni* appears to have had control over judicial affairs. Here the system prevalent in Vijayanagar seems to have been followed in Madras also. Proenza in his letter of 1655 A.D. makes the following observations about his own trial: "The Pradhāni did not consider the rival plaintiffs . . . The examination was public. He sent for the governor, judges and all the great personages to come to the palace immediately. He came in great pomp . . . The governor intimidates the witnesses and compels

1. R. Sathyanātha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 241 and Appendix C, p. 931.

2. The Jesuit Father Bouchet's letter of 1714 A.D. referred to in J. H. Nelson's *Hindu Law in Madras 1714* *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1886, pp. 7, 9.

3. M.E.R. 382 of 1926, M.E.R. 1927, para 92.

4. M.E.R. 282 of 1942.

them to depose according to his wishes.....All the procedure was sent to Madura, from where the judgment came soon. It proclaimed my innocence and fined the *ambalakāran* several thousands of *acuz*.¹

Arbitration was largely used for deciding cases.² Regarding criminal justice there were several ordeals in vogue such as the ordeal of boiling-oil fire, water, and weighing and taking a ring out of a narrow-necked earthen pot containing a cobra.³

During the period of the Nayakas a large number of Telugus immigrated and settled down in Madurai⁴. Many of the officers and followers of the Nāyakas were Telugus. The influx of Telugus into the Madurai country led to the absorption of some Telugu customs and manners by the Tamils. The observance of *Dasara* and other festivals which were popular in the Telugu countries was introduced in the Madurai country. The custom of *jati* seems to have been in vogue. The institution of the *harem* and the observance of *parda* and the seclusion of women were due to Muslim influences on social life.

One important Telugu community in the Madurai country was the *tolliyans*, otherwise known as *kambajattār*. They had the caste title *Nāyakkān*. Many of the poligars of the Madurai country hailed from this community, as, for instance, the poligars of Aykud, Yedayarkottai, Virupākṣi, Kannivālai, and Tavaṣimaṭṭai.

The spread of Vijayanagara influence in the Madurai country also led to the migration of several Kanarese communities into this

1. Bertrand, *La Musée Du Musée*, ii, pp. 178-81, quoted by R. Sudhanatha Aiyar, *op. cit.* p. 242.

2. M.E.R. 28b of 1930 Burgess, S.C.P. No. 20, pp. 107-8.

3. J.H. Nelson, *op. cit.* pp. 9-10.

4. The Veṅkaṅga plates state that Varabhadra Saṁudraṁ the newly founded *agāra* was divided among a large number of Brahmins. From the names of these donors it may be seen that they were Brahmins of the Telugu country who might have already migrated to the Tamil country or had come down south at the invitation of the donor. E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 294 ff. Also T.A.S., Vol. I pp. 85-88, 145-46.

region. The *kāppūyans* and the *anappans* were the chief among these. Some poligars of the Kambam valley region were of Kanarese origin¹. The accounts of most of the poligars - both *tattiyans* and *kāppūyans* - narrate a tradition that the poligars fled south in the age of some oppression by the Muhammadans of the north. It is said that the *kāppūyans* fled across the Tungabhadra and then travelled through Mysore to Kānci, thence to Coimbatore and thence to the Madurai country².

The Saurāstras or *Pañḍitās* are another community which migrated into Madurai country and soon rose to prominence during this period. Their members are numerous in Madurai and Dindigul towns and are skilled in the art of weaving. Their vernacular is Pañḍi or Khatri, a dialect of Gujarati, and they are said to have come from Gujarat originally. "An inscription dated 473-74 A.D. at Mandasor in Western Malwa relates³ how the Paṭṭavāvas, at the time was then called, were induced to immigrate thither from Lata, on the coast of Gujarat, by King Kumāra Gupta (or one of his lieutenants) to practise there the art of silk-weaving"⁴. On the destruction of Mandasor by the Muslims, the Paṭṭavāvas seem to have migrated south to Dēvaguri and thence to Vijayanagar and eventually to Madurai. The Saurāstras with their flourishing silk-weaving industry have contributed much to the prosperity of Madurai.

The artisan community figures in several epigraphs of the period. They are usually referred to as the "*Anjyāṭi Kammālar*". Rottler in his dictionary enumerates the five classes of artisans as the *kalṭaccar* (stone cutters), *maṇṭaccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmiths), *tattār* (goldsmiths), and *kannār* (brazers). Two inscriptions dated 1623 and 1625 A.D.⁵ state that Muttu Virappa Nāyaka issued a royal writ prohibiting the members of the five subdivisions of artisans (*kammālar*) from intermingling (*uḍankūṭṭam*) with each other. This is one instance of the occasional interference of the Nāyakas for

1. W. Francis: *Madurai District Gazetteer*, p. 108.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 194-201.

4. W. Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

5. M.E.R. 309 and 378 of 1916.

checking breaches and violations of caste rules. Otherwise the Nāyaks were generally non-interfering in their social policy and usually tried to maintain the traditional Hindu social pattern.

An inscription of Cokkanātha¹ registers the king's order permitting the five divisions of *kammilar* (or *kaṁṣalattār*) the privileges of using the elephant double *amra*, white umbrella, palanquin, tents, and others.

The artisans had also to pay certain specified *axa* to the government. On one occasion Tirumala Nāyaka remitted certain taxes due from the five artisan classes for conducting the *Mārga* festival in the Cokkarāṭṭa temple at Madurai.²

One epigraph mentions the remission of caste levy (*jāti varu*) on the Reddis in the Madurai country.³ Another mentions a land gift to some washermen to settle down in a village and render services to a certain temple⁴. In about 1569 A.D. certain concessions were granted to the barbers *ambṭṭar* in the suburb of Srīviluppattūr, viz., the exemption from the payment of *tiṭṭupayam* (house tax), *alipayam* (poll tax) and some *fuṭṭarigal* (minor cesses).⁵ Certain blacksmiths and carpenters were also granted similar concessions.⁶

In about 1565 A.D. there appears to have been a caste dispute between the two castes, *dēvēndra-kuṭṭambar* and the *paṇaiyar* in Srīviluppattūr regarding certain social privileges.⁷

Social Rank and Status

Social rank and status seem to have been well recognised and marked by distinctions of title and other honorary perquisites. Apart from the royal household and the palace officials like the *śulavādy*, *pradhāna* and others, nobles like the *poligars* enjoyed many

1. S.I.T.I. Vol. II, No. 748.

2. M.E.R. 287 of 1942.

3. M.E.R. 283 of 1942.

4. M.E.R. 594 of 1975.

5. M.E.R. 586 of 1926.

6. M.E.R. 113 of 1907.

7. M.E.R. 588 of 1926, M.E.R. 1927, para. 101.

privileges granted to them by royal favour. These served as an order of precedence.

Among heralds conferred may be mentioned that of 'Tirumala Setupati' given by Tirumala Nāyaka to Ranganatha Setupati for faithful service. Cinnapa Nāyaka, the poligar of Virūpākṣi, is said to have had the titles 'Vallakurūpa' (Vallakurūpa, one valiant and noble), 'Nakulakṣi' (Vakulakṣi) and 'Nakulakṣi Mālika', 'Vakulakṣi mālika' and also the dignity of adding the term Tirumala to his own name.¹ Ujjaya Naker (Ujjaya Nāyaka), the poligar of Kinnirāṇi, crushed some marauders who were harassing pilgrims to the shrine to Mūruṅga at Palani and was rewarded with various honours and the title *Kāduveṭṭi* (Kāduveṭṭi).² The poligars were awarded many distinctions and honours and gifts for their fidelity and noble services.³ The following honours⁴ granted by the Vijayanagara Emperor to an ancestor of the poligar of Yeddyakōṭai who had helped Viśvanātha Nāyaka in a campaign against the Pasha of Dillī give an indication of the titles and paraphernalia that distinguished the recipients. The following titles, *Aṅkalanṭa Mullai* and *Vallakurūpa*, were conferred and the honours included *tiṇṇakṛpapaṅṇam*, a *śirasapattam* or golden turban band, *raja kan-kannu* or war bracelet, *raja pāṣaṅgam* or laurel for the head, "*Swamy dṛoḥa Venduṁ*" or a bangle with a clasp like the head of a man, "*Viṅṇaḥam*" or a golden string worn above the ankles, *śira mūni* or golden wrist bells for warriors, *ubaya penḍimam* or two white courtes, *pillai* and *piṇṇai* "dill" or white and green flag, white and green *koṇu* or umbrellas, white and green *suruṭṭi* or parasols, as well as flags with Garuda, lion and swan emblems, a "*māmaraiṇi*"⁴ "*Veera Thunda*" or a blue flag, *paṇal dīvaṭṭi* or day torch, a "*paṇiravāṇḍu māḍi dīvaṭṭi*" or twilight-rayed torch, and also a *kāṇḍu undak-mūni* or mule "*paṇḍi*" which is stated to be a white horse with a crimson mane. The Poligar of Kanniyāḍi received the title *Kāduveṭṭi* and many honours for various services rendered. He was given

1. A manuscript in the Madras Record Office.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. The meaning of this word is not clear. It may perhaps refer to a triple drum.

the "*Shamothragabandium*" or golden anklets, *Pestacundaamunnee* (*Vitrakñāmanī* or golden chain, and a '*Velā Suckradoli*' or white umbrella.¹ This chief is said to have taken part in Viśvanātha Nayaka's campaign against the Pāṇdyas in the Kaiyār region. After his success in the war, the Nāyaka ruler is stated to have allowed the poligar to take away the armour and many of the ornaments of the Pāṇdyas as a reward², "Tirumalay Coopula C) annapanikan", the poligar of Virūpaksi, accompanied Dalavay Rāmapavvan in his campaign against the Setupati and was rewarded by Tirumala Nāyaka with the honours of a tassel of peacockfeathers set with precious stones, emerald bracelets, a pearl necklace and a *bājibandu* (a jewel worn on the arm).³

Honours and privileges were not confined to the nobility alone. In royal levees particularly, temple priests and officials seem to have enjoyed a priority over laymen.⁴

While poets and literary men were honoured, the sculptor, the painter or the *śilpi* enjoyed a lesser status and were considered only craftsmen. Prosperous merchants enjoyed a better social status and many of them have donated largely to temples. But the vast multitude of humbler folk do not seem to have had any opportunity to rise in social status. The extremely low cost of living when the current *fanam* equivalent to two and a half annas could buy 8 *marakkāls* or 96 lb. of rice, seems to have kept the people contented without being more ambitious.

1. A manuscript in the Record Office.

2. *Ibid*. The following names of the Pandy king's ornaments are mentioned but some of the names are rather obscure, "1st *Monthoacor* or a bunch of fine pearls set in gold to be worn on the turban. 2nd *Ramapannuagam*, an ornament of fine gold set with precious stones, to be worn over the turban. 3rd *Umtahmunnee* or a fish made in wood etc. and suspended on the point of a stick. 4th *Siagakode* or a grand umbrella with a lion's head in silver—5th *Mugakode*, or a fine coloured screen, which is thrown in front on public occasions and 6th *Vengamunum* or bunch of white fleece, fixed in a silver stick".

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*, Chapter X, Section E (4).

Dress and Ornaments of the Period

There are very few contemporary accounts relating to Madurai which give a description of the dress or ornaments worn by the different classes of people. However, the various sculptures, stucco and paintings in the temple *mandapas* and *gōpuras* afford a more reliable guide than any description could give. The *Pudu Mandapa* in the Madurai Temple is a rich source of this kind preserving a vivid record of the contemporary mode of dress and jewellery worn by the kings and queens, their attendants and nobles. Other sculptures and stuccos in the *Tiruvār Pillar Mandapa* and on one of the *gōpuras* give a picture of how some of the common folk looked and lived.

The kings of the period appear to have dressed in a simple manner. Many of them as may be seen from the statues in the *Pudu Mandapa* did not wear any dress over their bodies. A tight fitting full sleeved jacket of thin material was sometimes worn as may be seen on the statues of Kasiūrī Rāṅgappa and Taramala Nāyaka. The general mode of royal wear seems to have been a *dhōti*, *angapastra* and a head dress. The *dhōti* was of fine material, silk or brocade, and was worn in the *paṭṭakacāṭa* fashion. The head dress was of the high Vijayanagara type or an ordinary cap or sometimes a turban. A large number of jewels like ear rings, necklaces, shoulder ornaments, armlets, bracelets, finger rings, god's anklets and toe rings were worn.

The queens wear a rich blouse and a *sari*, tied in the customary manner with one of the ends gathered in a pleated and hanging gracefully from the waist down. Some queens like those of Taramala Nāyaka appear to wear a full sleeved *ugā*-fitting jacket below their blouses. On a few queens like those of Visvaśāstra, Viśvappa and Muttu Vṛappa the other end of the *sari* is brought over the shoulder and hangs loose on the arm. Kumara Kṛṣṇappa's queen wears a diaphanous *sari* covering her body. Most of the queens wear their hair neatly combed and tied in a knot; a big *eṅgaṇa*. Some queens wear their hair beautifully plaited and adorned with flowers. But all the queens have on their heads the jewel known as *candra-prabhā* and *sūrya-prabhā*. Besides ear rings, a number of other smaller jewels are worn on the ears. A prominent jewel worn on the neck-

is the *pottu*, the matrimonial disc worn by Telugu women. This corresponds to the Tamilian *tiramangalaya* or *tāla*. Armlets, bracelets, anklets, finger and toe-rings of various patterns are seen. The ladies carry a number of richly jewelled waist bands or girdles, the lower most one being broader and more ornate than the rest.

The ladies are accompanied by women attendants some bearing *cauris* and some preparing betel, like the one on the pillar with the sculpture of Vīṭappa Nāyaka. Some of the women, like another figure on the same pillar, carry a fan in their hands. These women attendants are dressed in a slapper manner with a diaphanous drapery covering them and their great big chignons tied with flowers being thrown on the right or left of their shoulders. The male attendants are dressed in plain *dhotis*, wear caps on their heads and a dagger on their waist. Some of them carry *cauris*, or fans; others are *adappams* or betel bearers.

The base of the pillar on which the statue of Tirumala Nāyaka stands is interesting as it reveals some of the royal paraphernalia of the period. On the frieze immediately below the standing figure are sculptured 24 women with *anjali hastas*. These are probably ladies of Tirumala Nāyaka's harem. The lowermost frieze shows standard bearers. The standards are of different patterns as described in the paraphernalia of royal personages. A big wooden fish carried on the end of a pole seems to have been one of the court ornaments of the Pāṇḍya rulers and this appears to have been accepted by the Nāyaka rulers also. Two of these *matya* standards could be seen borne by two of the footmen on this pillar.

Two of the ministers whose sculptured representations are seen are those of Nārāṇappayyar and Aravanāṭa Madal. These wear turbans, jackets and *dhotis* with the *angavasthra* tied nearly round the waist. No shoe wear could be seen on any of the figures. The warriors as seen below the equestrian statues in the *Pudu Maṇḍapa* and before the *Paṭṭinara* in Alagarkoil wear only short pants. They are bare bodied but wear a cap and carry a sword and shield. Some of them are seen wearing the warrior's garland. The courtiers of the time seem to have adopted the Mogul dress of a long robe, a sort of combination of jacket and skirt, with a cloth tied over it at the waist. Turbans are worn on the head.

The other civilians wear only a *dhōti* and *angavastrā* with a turban. The women folk seem to have dressed in the same manner as seen today but the *chignon* appears to have been in universal vogue. A small relief in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* shows women cooking, employing the same type of oven and vessels as in use even today.

The Brahman is usually shown with his *pañcakaeca*, *aṅgavastrā* or shawl and a clean shaven head with a tuft. The *nudrākṣa* is his only ornament. Some, however, may be seen more richly dressed with cap and jewels as seen on the figure of Subbarayar.

Literature

The period of the Nāyaka regime in Madurai was one of great activity, in various fields of literature. The works were noted for their high literary style and quality. The Nāyakas, though themselves Telugus, patronised Tamil and Sanskrit also. Most of the works were of a highly philosophical and religious nature. Grammatical treatises and many works on *Dharmaśāstras* were also written.

Of the Sanskrit writers the most outstanding was Nilakantha Dikṣita, the great nephew of the celebrated Appayya Dikṣita. He is said to have been a minister of Tirumala Nāyaka. Some of his works are *Sivalālmāṣa*, the *Nilakantha Vijaya Campu* (1637), *Gangādotarāṇa* and *Nalacaritrānandakā*. A large number of Tamil works were written in praise of the deity of Madurai. Purāṇa Tirumala Nāḍār (16th c.) wrote the *Cokkanāthar Ulā* and is said to have presented it for approval in Vira Pāṇḍya's court. The identity of this king is not clear. Anāḍari wrote the *Sundara Pāṇḍiyam* at the request of Maṅgarai Tiruvirundān, a general of Virappa Nāyaka (1572-95 A.D.). This poem gives an account of the Madurai *Tirumalaiyāḍal*, and is based on a Sanskrit work, also called *Sundara Pāṇḍiyam*. Parāñjōti Munivar who was born in Vēḍāraṇvaim and was the head of a *maṭha* at Madurai wrote the *Tirumalaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, probably in the early years of the 17th c.

Many *sthala-purāṇas* were written. Māsīlāmani Sambarḍan (16th c.) wrote the '*Uttarakōṣṭamaṅgai Purāṇam*'. Hēlasidhramonyā Kavirāyar of Palani, the *Palani Talapurāṇam* (1628 A.D.), N. ramba Aḷaṅiya Deśikar (16th c.), the *Sēṭhu Purāṇam*, *Tirupparangiri Purāṇam* and others, and Kandasāmi Pulavar (1621 A.D.), of Tiruppūvaṇam,

puṛāṇas on Tiruvāppanūr and Tiruppūvaṇam. Vīṭṭakavirāyaṉ a goldsmith of Nallūr in the Pāṇḍya country, wrote the *Aṇṇandira Puṛāṇam* in 1524 A.D.

Madai Tiruvēṅgaḍaṇāṭṭa, said to have been a minister of R. eṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīraṇṇa wrote a long Tamil poem based on the philosophical Sanskrit work *Prabodhacandriḍāya*. Sēvvaiccūḍavār (16th c.) of Vembarrūr in the Madurai district wrote the *Bhāgavatam* in Tamil. Kumaragurupara was a 17th c. poet who lived in the time of Tirumala Nāyaka. He was a Vēlāḷa born in Srivaikuntam. He spent many years in North India and was engaged in religious disputes. He wrote the *Maduraikkūmbakam* about Sundarēśvara's *Uḷar* and a large number of poems in praise of Goddess Minākṣi such as the *Mīnākṣiyammī Kuram*, *Mīnākṣiyammī Iṭṭaimaṇimālai* and others.

The *pillaittami*, *kuram*, *iṭṭaimaṇimālai*, *āmmānai* and similar types of Tamil poetry became popular during the 16th-17th cs. The *Rāmappariyan āmmānai*, a ballad by an anonymous author, deals with the exploits of Tirumala's *daṇḍy* Rāmappariyan and is of value since it is one of the few surviving historical works of its class in Tamil. A number of the later Pāṇḍya kings and princes were also of a literary bent and composed many works. Ativiraṇṇa the ruler of Tenkasi (c. 1564 A.D.), wrote the well-known *Aṇṇadam*, the *Kōṭṭikāṇḍam*, *Kūrmapurāṇam*, *Lūḡapurāṇam* and *Vāyusamhitai* as well as simple works such as *Veyṟi Vēṟkai* for the benefit of young readers. His cousin Varatunga wrote the theological work *Pīṇḍī-tarakāṇḍam* and three *andādi* in praise of the deity of Karivalam-vandanallūr. Varatunga's queen was also an accomplished poetess.

The literature of the Nāyaka period was as varied in form and subject matter as the ranks from which the authors were drawn. The Nāyaka rulers encouraged the propagation of education. Robert de Nobili the Jesuit missionary, wrote in 1610 A.D.¹ that more than 10,000 students were in Madura, and that they were being taught, boarded and lodged at public cost in Madurai. There was provision for the teaching of philosophy and theology to students. Many *maṭhas* and temples imparted free education.

1. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar: *History of the Nayaks of Madurai*, p. 257.

FINE ARTS : Fine arts received liberal patronage from the Nāyaka rulers. Music, dancing, painting, architecture and sculpture were in a flourishing state. The temples at Madurai and in the south are standing monuments to the great building activity of the period and the high level of craftsmanship attained by the stone masons and *stapatis*. Few paintings of the period have survived. However, Madurai was a centre noted for its *citrakāyas* who had followed their elders from the Telugu country and had settled in Madurai. From here they spread to Travancore in the south and to Trichinopoly and Tanjore also. Some families of these artists have survived till recent years in all these centres where they had established the southern school of painting. Two inscriptions from Janubukēśvaram¹ mention Pātakam Vaidyappaya, the son of Venkaṭēśvarayya, an instructor in the theatre hall (*Nāṭakakala-sikṣam*) of Vijayaranga Cakkārāra. This theatre was probably attached to the royal palace at Trichinopoly. Many temples and *maṭhas* were either built or renovated and enlarged. Secular buildings like palaces were also erected.

The Nāyakas tried to maintain and promote the traditional pattern of Hindu social life for nearly two centuries.

RELIGION : The Nāyaka rulers followed a policy of religious tolerance. They extended their patronage to a certain extent to non-Hindu religions also such as Islam² and Christianity. The early Nāyakas were on the whole ardent Saivas, while the later ones were devout Vaiṣṇavas. From an epigraph it is learnt that Ācārya Vaidiā Cāḍḍāṇa was the religious teacher of Muttu Alakāḍri.³

Christianity was first introduced into the Madurai country towards the close of Virappa Nāyaka's reign. In about 1592 A.D. a Portuguese missionary named Father Fernandez began working among the Parayas (fishermen). He was unable to effect any conversions even after working for about fourteen years since the people regarded the Portuguese or *Portugis* with great contempt. During

1. M.E.R. 48 and 49 of 1938.

2. M.E.R. 19 of Appendix A, 1911, 16 of 1937, 8 of Appendix A of 1939 and I.A.S. Vol. V, No. 8, register gifts to mosque.

3. M.E.R. 27 of 1939.

the reign of Mattu Kṛṣṇappa the first Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, an Italian, began to work in 1606 A.D. under the control of the Archbishop of Cranganore. Knowing that Fernandez had been handicapped by the fact that he was one of the unpopular *Parangis*, De Nobili evolved an original and thorough-going scheme for proselytisation. He openly avoided association with Fernandez assumed a Hindu name, *Tatva Bōdagar* (teacher of philosophy), proclaimed himself as a "Roman Brahman" and a *sanyāsi*, and adopted the dress and meagre diet of the Hindu ascetics. He also tried to show Christian converts to retain many Hindu customs and ceremonies. He made a thorough study of the Indian languages such as Tamil and Sanskrit and acquired a knowledge of Hindu literature. De Nobili was able to make some conversions and his fame rapidly spread at first. He built a church and presbytery in 1610 A.D. But soon his popularity waned and persecutions followed. The authorities of the Christian church did not approve of his unorthodox methods such as allowing the converts to retain their old Hindu customs. Many complaints were brought against De Nobili. He was censured in 1613 and finally recalled to Goa. About ten years later he was allowed to resume his work. He then spent most of his time in Trichinopoly where he suffered much from persecution. Once he was also imprisoned. In 1648 he left the Madurai country. De Nobili was the founder of the Madurai Mission whose early history was largely moulded by his great zeal and personal influence. But his experiment of establishing a mission exclusively among the Brahmans and princes proved a failure.

John de Brito and Father Beschi were two other personalities who belonged to the "Madurai Mission". Brito was a Portuguese. In 1680 he reached Madurai with André Frieres. He worked in the Marava country, i.e., Ramanad, in face of strong opposition. He was arrested and executed in 1693 A.D.

Father Bouchet was able to gain some recognition and favour during the reign of Maṇḍammāl. He was tactful and had a wide knowledge of court ceremonials. Hence he carefully avoided anything that might offend the ruler or raise suspicions against him.

CHAPTER IX

THE POST-NAYAKA PERIOD

The interval between the end of the Nāyaka dynasty and the cession of Madurai to the British in 1801 A.D. is a chequered period in the history of Madurai. For a major part of this period of about 60 years, Madurai was under the nominal rule of the Nawab of Carnatic.

After the death of Minākṣin about 1739-40 A.D. the Nāyaka dynasty of Madurai came to an end and for a few years Chanda Saheb was dispossessed in the Madurai country. Chanda Saheb strengthened his pretences of Trichinopoly. He appointed his two brothers, Buda Saheb and Saduck Saheb, as the governors of Madurai, and Dinagul respectively. The *Madurai-talavonālār* says that on hearing that Caṇḍakān Baḍḍikān (Chanda Saheb and Buda Saheb) had taken the fort of Dinagul, Baṅgārū Tirumala Nāyaka son Viṣṇukomāra Maṇu Tirumala Nāyaka and the Setupati, *vāsāl dalavāḍi* Vellaiyon Servakāṭar, along with the *talavār* and *pariyān* (attendants left Madurai for Manamadurai) on the night of the 30th of *Vaiśākṣi* *Siddhant* (1739 A.D.) taking with them the Gods *Mirākṣ*, *Sundarēśvara* and *Kūḍal Alagar*. The Setupati made provisions for the *pūjār* and for the shelter of the temple servants. From *Āṇi* of *Siddhant* to *Āṇi* of *Durmāsi* for a period of two years they remained under his protection.

Meanwhile Baṅgārū Tirumala and the king of Tanjore who had suffered defeat at the hands of Chanda Saheb, asked the Marathas for help. The Marathas came to his aid with a large army under the command of Raghooji Bārnale, early in 1740, and defeated and killed the Nawab of Arcot in the pass of Dāmalakuruvu in North Arcot. Then they retired for a time. At the end of the same year, the Marathas suddenly reappeared and besieged Chanda Saheb in Trichinopoly. They defeated and killed his two brothers who advanced to his aid from Madurai and Dinagul.¹ After three months Chanda Saheb surrendered and was taken captive to Satara. Setting aside the claims of Baṅgārū Tirumala, the Marathas left Meerar, Rao of

1 R. Orme - *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* p. 44

Gooty as the governor in charge of the conquered kingdom. Morari Rao remained here for about two years till about 1743 A.D. when the Nizam re-established his control over the Carnatic. Thus between 1740 and 1743 A.D. there was a brief Maratha interlude in the history of Madurai. The *Maduraittalavardirū* says that Morari Rao sent Appācci Nāyakar to Madurai with 2000 horses. To restore temple worship in Mādurai, Appācci Nāyakar went to Vānaravīramadurai to bring back the idols which had remained in the safe custody of the Setupati. On 17th Āṣāḍ of *Durmāsī* (1741 A.D.) he returned to Madurai along with the temple servants and restored the *pūjas*, festivals and villages as of old.

In August 1743 the Marathas retired from the south and by March 1744 the Nizam of Hyderabad had reasserted his control over the Carnatic and had appointed Anwaruddin as the Nawab of Arcot. The whole of Madurai also came under the sway of the Nawab of Arcot who ruled the country with the help of his two sons, Mahriz Khan and Muhammad Ali. The *Maduraittalavardirū* says that the brothers ruled Madurai for a period of ten years.

In 1748 Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Arcot, was killed in battle. Hissa and Muhammad Ali and Chanda Sahib were rival claimants to the throne and the fierce contest which broke out between them is commonly known as the Carnatic wars. Madurai did not play any direct part in these wars. But Muhammad Ali who had many followers in the Madurai country, was a British protégé, as a result of which the Carnatic wars led to an increasing influence of the English in the Madurai country.

In 1751 Alam Khan, the brother-in-law of one Mayara and a former employee of Chanda Sahib, marched through the country of the Tondaimān, took possession of the fort of Madurai and for a year ruled as far as the Tiruvāṇai Rājya (Travancore). He acknowledged Chanda Sahib as his sovereign. The loss of Madurai country was a serious one to Muhammad Ali since it constituted more than one of his dominions. Hence he sent Captain Cope in 1751 to recover the city of Madurai.

The defences of Madurai were underestimated by the English and by the Nawab of Arcot. For three months from February to April, Cope, though ill-equipped, made a brave attempt to

scale the walls where his army had made a breach. The attackers, however, found that the damages were quickly repaired and the defence put up in such a vigorous manner and with such ingenuity that they had to abandon the attempt.

After ruling for a year, Alam Khan went to Trichinopoly, leaving his relation Mayana as the governor of Madurai, and one Nabh Khan in charge of Tanjavelly. With regard to the events from 1751 to 1753 the *Maduraittalaparaiṭṭu* gives the following account. Mayana sold the Madurai fort to the Mysoreans and left for Tirumohar. Then Kūka Saheb of Mysore¹ entered the Madurai fort on 39th *Purattam* of the *Āṅgrasa* year (1752 A.D.) On hearing this Vellayan Servakkārar, the *Setupati's* *vāsai talakarittam* (commander) and Tandavaraya Pillai, the *vāsai pradhāni* of Udaya Tevar (Zamindar of Sivaganga), came with a large army and besieged Madurai. After holding out for a few months (31st *Kārttiṅgai* of 1752 A.D.), Kūka Saheb handed over the fort to the Setupati as a result of a large ransom and left for Dindigul. Then Vellayan Servakkārar and Tandavaraya Pillai entered the fort of Madurai, opened up the temples, and restored worship and services. Since Kūka Saheb had slaughtered cows, cut down trees and done other such acts during the siege, they ordered the necessary purification ceremonies to be done in the seven temples. Since the kingdom was without a ruler they sent for Bangaru Tirumala's son Vjayaakumāra Maṭu Tirumala who had taken refuge in Vellakkurucci, had him crowned king on the 15th *Mārgaṣ* of *Āṅgrasa* (1752 A.D.) in the sanctum of the Goddess and invested with the sceptre. Vjayaakumāra ruled for 18 months (1st *Purattam* of the year *Srimukha*). Then Mavana, Mahadumya, and Nabh Khan drove out the ruler to Vellakkurucci and captured Madurai fort and country. As usual they captured the temple lands, destroyed the trade of the merchants, the gardens and the tanks. Kūka Saheb and Vellayan Servakkārar camped at Panaiyūr Anuppāḷai (Anuppānadi?) for six months and besieged the fort. However, Mavana drove them off and killed both of them in the affray. Thus Mavana remained in possession of Madurai fort and country till *Masi* of the year *Bhava* (1754 A.D.).

1 He was perhaps the Kūba Saheb Jamarādar of the Mysoreans mentioned by the Nawab, Muḥammad Ali. Vide S. G. Huzar, *Yusuf Khan*, p. 3, n. 1.

Early in 1755 Muhammad Ali sent Col. Heron on an expedition against Madurai to reduce the country to obedience. Muhammad Yusuf Khan, one of the Company's officers, was in charge of the 2000 sepoys. Since Mayana was had neglected the defences of Madurai had already fled for refuge to the temple of Kavalakud (Irumahur), the sepoys under Yusuf Khan easily entered the city of Madurai. Col. Heron pursued Mayana who however managed to escape from Kavalakud. Heron made the mistake of placing the temple for which he paid dearly in an attack by the "Coffins" (*Kallars*), as he was passing through the Nattam pass 20 miles away from Madurai.

Before leaving Madurai, Col. Heron placed Mulla Khan, the elder brother of Muhammad Ali, in charge of the administration of Madurai. But Mulla Khan proved a total failure as a ruler and there were many risings.

The *Muzattalabambara* says that when Bakki Iliah alias Damsimad Khan, a relation of Mulla Khan, was expelled from Madurai a Muslim *fake* attempted to erect a flag staff in front of the *Rajagopura*. The temple officials and city merchants and the people gathered together and tried to persuade him to give up his services but the *fake* refused to get down from the *gopura*. Then the temple officials closed the gates of the four *gopuras* and remained inside the temple.

In 1756 Yusuf Khan was sent to the south to suppress revolts. He reached Madurai in April and found that the gates to the defences and the forts were in greatest disorder.¹ By July of the same year things were tranquil enough for Yusuf Khan went to Tanjavur and Mulla Khan proceeded to Madurai. As soon as he reached Madurai his country home, headed by the governor of the town, surrounded his house and demanded that he pay. The brother of Muhammad Bakki who was the son-in-law of Nab Khan, collected the fort with 2000 *Kallars*. Hearing this Yusuf Khan marched to Madurai, and encamped near Irupparakurri. Since

1. Vide S.G. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 140, n. 2.

2. R. Orme: *History of the Military Transactions of the British Army in India* etc. Vol. I, p. 423.

he felt that his army was not strong enough to storm the place & sent for Captain Caillaud who was at Trichinopoly to come to his aid. Caillaud tried negotiations with the rebels but failed. Then a desultory war began. In May 1757 Captain Caillaud made an attempt at scaling the walls but was unsuccessful. The enemy who was alerted began to shower on the whole party arrows, stones, lances and the shot of fire-arms. Caillaud ordered the retreat but in July renewed the attack at the same place. The few who managed to scramble up the breach to the rampart were immediately tumbled down dead or mortally wounded. 'Whosoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top... for, besides the shower of other annoyance, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with mere powder, to which they set fire as they tossed them down on the heads of the assailants and the scorch of the explosion was inevitable and intolerable'.¹ Finally Caillaud ordered the retreat. Caillaud's own opinion about the affair is summed up in his remarks, "made a breach, attacked it and got a damnable drubbing."²

Eventually there were negotiations and on the 8th September the city of Madurai was given up to Caillaud on his paying the rebels Rs. 1,70,000 which was sanctioned by the Madras Council.³

The capture of Madurai did not lead to the complete restoration of order. There was the question of the efficient administration of the province. Disturbances still continued in many parts of the Madurai country. At this time Hudar Ali of Mysore who invaded the Madurai country towards the end of 1757 marched from Dindigul and took the fort of Solavandan. He spent several days under the walls of the city of Madurai but did not attack it since he found it to be much stronger than he had expected. He plundered the country round about. Then he was beaten back by Yusuf Khan.

Yusuf Khan made arrangements for the restoration of the temple lands to the seven temples. Purificatory ceremonies were performed and *pūjas* and services were restored. 12,000 *pan* was

1. R. Orme : *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 225.

2. R. Orme : *Collection of Manuscripts in the India Office* (Ms. No. 31 quoted in Hill's *Tamul Khan*, p. 58.

3. R. Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 239, S. C. Hill : *Tamul Khan*, p. 59.

given for the annual expenses of the temple. The *palu's* *nisān* was pulled down and he was driven beyond the walls of the town.

Yusuf Khan was able to reduce the country and restore some semblance of order but whenever he was absent there was disorder and anarchy. In April 1759 Yusuf Khan was sent back to the Madurai country. Both Madurai and Tinnevely were rented out to him for an annual sum of Rs. 5 lakhs. Soon he reduced the *Kollans* and the *Pogari* and restored order. Yusuf Khan had been appointed the renter of Madurai contrary to the wishes of the Nawab of Arcot. The Company repeatedly tried to persuade the Nawab to confirm Yusuf Khan in the rentership but the Nawab was highly reluctant and unwilling to continue Yusuf Khan in the management of the Madurai country. In January 1762 the Nawab agreed to let Yusuf Khan have the rentership for nine lakhs. Though the Company informed Yusuf Khan that he should pay the rents to the Nawab he continued to make the payments to the Company since he distrusted the Nawab and did not like the position of being a servant of the Nawab.

Shortly afterwards Yusuf Khan threw off his allegiance to the English and the Nawab and began to collect troops. In February 1763 the British first heard of Yusuf Khan's public declaration that he had allied with the French. He had also hoisted French colours on his forts and hauled down the English colours.¹

In August 1763 a strong force was sent by the English under Preston to put down the rebel. After taking the forts of Tiruvadavur and Tirumohar, Preston came in sight of Madurai on the 28th of August and found Yusuf Khan's army outside the walls and the French colours as well as those of Yusuf Khan flying over the walls.² In September the English began the siege of the fort of Madurai.

Col. Monson who attacked Madurai in 1763 A.D. was repulsed in his first attempt at reconnoitring. Besides the cavalry and *Raiders* of Yusuf Khan made a difficult approach near enough

1. Nelson: *Madurai Country*, pp. 280, 290.

2. S.G. Hill: *Yusuf Khan*, p. 184.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

to the town to begin the siege works. The great extent of the glacis and esplanade made it impossible for the British to fix their camp nearer than 2½ or even 3 miles. Nor could they break ground for the trenches closer than 12 or 1500 yards¹. But when they did cut trenches and begin operations they had to cross a ditch which Monson, after repeated reconnoissings, thought was impossible to cross. So in October he withdrew his forces from Madurai. "Thus ended the first siege of Madurai undertaken in almost absolute ignorance of the difficulties of the undertaking" and though the failure was attributed to lack of ammunition there was really no basis for it and "one can only conclude that the ability and strength of Yusuf Khan had been grievously under-rated"².

The siege of Madurai was recommenced by Major Campbell in February 1764. Yusuf Khan had made great additions to the fort and had outposts to a considerable distance. Though the English made many attempts to breach the walls and scale them they were repulsed every time and while the siege was thus hanging on, Marc and the French Commander under Yusuf Khan, rebelled and treacherously handed over the brave Muslim General into the hands of the British on the night of 14th October and on 15th October 1764 Yusuf Khan was hanged³. Thus ended the protracted siege of Madurai, scarcely proceeding where it ought to have.

After the death of Yusuf Khan the revenue administration of Madurai was carried on for about six years by the Abul Khan Sahib⁴. From now onwards a number of persons successively administered Madurai until the final cession to the British in 1801 A.D.

In 1781 A.D. the revenues of the District of Madurai were assigned to the British by the Nawab of Arc and a Receiver of

1. S.G. Hill: *Tamil Nadu*, p. 152

Ibid. p. 150

2. S.G. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26.

3. The *Annals of the District of Madurai*. Madurai: Abul Khan Sahib, and others, printed for seven years.

4. The *Madurai Annals* gives a list of their names along with the period of their administration.

Assigned Revenue" was appointed. The first Receiver sent to Madurai was Mr George Proctor who was virtually the first Collector. In 1783 he was succeeded by Mr Eyles Irwin.

In order to restore order and efficient administration could be carried on Colonel Fullerton undertook an expedition against the Madurai country in 1783 A.D. He subdued the poligars of Melur and Sivaganga and then went to Tirunelveli where most of the fighting took place.

In 1785 the assignment of the revenues was given back to the Nawab of Arcot but again resumed by the British in 1790 A.D. A Board of Assigned Revenue was set up and Collectors were appointed for the various districts. Mr Alexander McLeod became the Collector of Dindigul in 1790. In 1792 according to the terms of the treaty which concluded the Second Mysore War, the province of Dindigul was ceded to the East India Company.

In 1801 when a junior member of the family was raised to the Nawabship of Arcot, the English entered into an agreement with him. By this he handed over to the Company in perpetuity "the sole and exclusive administration of the Civil and Military Governments of all the territories and dependences of the Carnatic". In this way the whole of the Madurai district (except Dindigul which had already been acquired), along with the rest of the Carnatic was formally ceded to the British.

CHAPTER X

THE MADURAI TEMPLE

A. TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

The legendary origin of the temple leads one to the discovery by Indra of the *Śuayambha* linga in the Kadamba forest and its installation in the *Indrasimāna* by him. Ever since the temple has been in continuous worship and has grown to be the enormous complex it is today.

In the early period the temple might have been of moderate proportions confined to the *Āgamic* essential structures for any temple like the *garbhagriha*, *ardha mandapa*, kitchen, *yāgasāla*, tank and so on. From this nucleus the temple must have grown by later additions like *mahā mandapa*, subsidiary shrines and *prākāras*. The earliest indirect literary reference to the temple occurs in the *Madurakittan* where it is stated that the evening procession of the gods was headed by the God who had the axe (*maṭṭu*) and who was the Creator of the five elements. The reference to temple processions necessarily shows an organised temple worship and temple structures. Probably by this time the temple had become well established, with a regular routine of festivals, *pūjas*, and so on.

In the 7th century A.D. Jñānasambandar sang many hymns in praise of the "Ālavāy Iraivan" and "Tiruvālavāy Sōkkan" at Madurai. By the 7th century the legend of the Ālavāy serpent fixing the boundaries of the Madurai city appears to have been well known. Further, the term Ālavāy to denote the city of Madurai seems to have become well established by then. One finds that throughout the centuries the deity of the Madurai temple is called Tiruvālavāyudayan Nāvanār (or Tambirānar) in the temple epigraphs and records. The *Kallādam*, a work of about the 9th century A.D. refers to the Madurai temple and nearly 30 *Kīrtis* performed by God Sundareshvara. It mentions the *Indrasimāna* with the *aṣṭagaj* and says that the God of Ālavāy who is called the *Ālāṇṇāravan* resided there with Goddess Umā.

In other early works the God of Tiruvālavāy is generally referred to as Sokkar or Sokkanātha, while the term Sundarēśvara is found in later works. Even in Jernin letters the temple is called the Cokkanāthu Temple Goddess Minākṣi is referred to as Angayarkannamuna in early works. Mediaeval epigraphs from the Madurai temple mention the Tiruukkāmakkottattu Āudaiya Nāccavār. This is apparently a reference to Goddess Minākṣi.

It is only in more recent times that the temple as we come to be popularly known as the Minākṣi-Sundarēśvara temple or even more briefly as Minākṣi temple. This does not, however, mean that Minākṣi, Amman came into prominence only in recent times. The very legendary origin of the temple is based on Minākṣi's rule and the marriage of Minākṣi and Sundarēśvara.

From available literary and inscriptional references one may conclude that the temple has enjoyed a continuous existence almost from the beginning of the Christian era, though, of course, restored, repaired and extended by the several rulers of the country.

The temple has gone through many vicissitudes. It was despoiled by Muhammadans during Malik Kafur's invasion in 1310 A.D. and again later during the Sultanate period when much havoc was done. On a third occasion the Muhammadans occupied the temple itself.

These raids and destructions caused the disappearance of many of the older parts of the temple. When the temple came to be rebuilt in between the raids and finally after the restoration of Hindu monarchy after about 1370 A.D. that is about the end of the 14th century A.D., it was almost entirely a new structure, though the old and the new got mixed up in several places in the temple complex. This is evident when one examines in detail carefully the several *mandapas*, corridors and sanctuaries. One could easily see the great mix-up that has taken place. This was perhaps due to the fact that the people who restored or built anew, found many of the relics of Muslim vandalism and enough to be used as they were. This led to different styles of pillars and other architectural features being used in a single structure.

It is usual to say that the Madurai temple is largely built at one time and is, therefore, typical of the architectural style of the

gopuras. A somewhat dark passage known as *Mudoli Mandapa* leads from the *Citra Gopura* to the *Citra Mandapa* which surrounds the Golden Lily Tank or *Parrāmarai* Tank. The north and east walls of this colonnade contain modern paintings relating to the 64 *līlās* of the *Tirumala-vēṭṭi Pūarna*. The Golden Lily Tank which measures an area of 120 feet by 170 feet is one of the most beautiful of temple tanks. From the northern side of the *Citra Mandapa* a splendid view of the tank and the south *Gopura* which is just beyond its south-west corner could be had. The *Parrāmarai* tank is as old as the *Seṅgambāḥa Linga* (God *Sandaresvara*) and prominently figures in the legends connected with the origin of the shrine. On the western side is a small *mandapa* which projects over the steps of the tank. This is known popularly as *Manganmalai Mandapa*. The western side of the Golden Lily Tank has also the *Mutharai* (*Mutturāḍi*) *Mandapa*, the *Ennakāppu* (or *anjai*) *Mandapa*, an unidentified *mandapa* between *Manganmalai Mandapa* and the *Ennakāppu Mandapa*. North-west of the Golden Lily Tank is the famous *Kūlikatti Mandapa* lying north-south in front of the *Arunan Sannidhi gopura*.

At the southern end of the *Kūlikatti Mandapa*, close to the eastern wall of the *Arunan Sannidhi* second *prākāra*, is the shrine of *Sakthi Viṅḍayakar* who is the *Śrīnāḍa Viḅḷaśvara*. Further to the north of this shrine is the *Arunan Sannidhi gopura* in line with the *Citra Gopura*. The *Sannidhi gopura* leads to the second *prākāra* (225 feet by 150 feet) of the *Arunan* shrine. Facing the *gopura* is the *āṇḍāl pīṭha* of the shrine. At the south-east corner of the *prākāra* is the *śrīrāḍa* figure of *Tirumala Nāyaka*, and his queen facing the *Kolu Mandapa* in the south-west corner at the other end of the southern *prākāra*. The *Navarātri* festival is celebrated in this *mandapa*. To the north of the *Kolu Mandapa* is the *Kāṇḍa Gopura* of the temple, which is now blocked. On the other side of the *Kāṇḍa gopura* in the north-west corner of the *prākāra* is the *Kūḷan Kūmaraswāmi*. Passing along the north corridor and returning to the east side of the second *prākāra* and mounting the *āṇḍāl pīṭha* one enters the first *prākāra* (125 feet by 70 feet) of the *Arunan* shrine with its *mahā mandapa*. The *Paṇḍarai* is on the north side of this *mandapa*. The sanctum occupies the western half of the enclosure with its *prākāra*. Outside the south

wall of the second *prakāra* of the Minakṣī shrine is the Javan divyara shrine and *mandapa* situated in a garden.

From the *Karkati Mandapa* one could enter the Svami shrine through the *nadu kattu gopura*. In the second *prākāra* (420 feet x 320 feet) of the Svami shrine is a huge figure of Viṅṇesvara popularly known as Mikkuruni Pillaiṭṭār. On the western side of the second *prākāra* is the *Pōiaka gopura* and a number of *Isaṇams* or subsidiary shrines. In the north-west corner of this *prākāra* is the Sangattār temple and further down the north corridor is the Kariyamāṇṭṭu temple and its *mandapa* which reaches up to the *anna mottai gopura* on the north wall of this *prākāra*. In the north-east corner is the *Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* or Hundred Polar *Mandapa* with a Sabhapati shrine. In front of the *Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* in the eastern *prākāra* is the famous *kambattai mandapa* with its Nandi shrine and iconographic sculptures on pillars between the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* and the *sannāḍi gopura*. In the south-east corner is Jñānasambandar temple.

The first *prakāra* (250 feet x 170 feet) of the Svami shrine is entered through the *sannāḍi gopura* and in the clusters abutting the south wall of this *prākāra* are the images of the 63 Saiva saints *Aṟuṅṅattamēars*. Facing the south corridor at its western end is the Madurai Nāyaka shrine where the *utthara* or processional image of God Sundaresvara is enshrined. On the north side of this *prākāra* is the *Ellām Vāla* Shuddhar shrine close to the sanctum area, the Kāṇṭamba stump. On the eastern *prākāra* is the Svami Sannāḍi *āṇṇṇai pitha* which leads to the *maha mandapa*. The *Velliyambala Sabai* with Nataraja dancing on his lot legs is in this *mandapa*. The Sundaresvarar sanctum is next to the *ardra manusaḍi*.

Leaving the Svami shrine through the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* one enters the huge court wherein a number of *mandapas* are to be seen. Close to the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* on the south side of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* is the *kalyāṇa mandapa*. The Sūrasāyār Mandapa is between this *mandapa* and the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*. The large *Itanasantarāya Mandapa* lies betw. on the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* and the East *gopura*. To the west of the *Vinayasantarāya Mandapa* is the beautiful Thousand Polar *mandapa* with its numerous sculptured pillars and its Nataraja

South of the *Viravasantarāya Mandapa* are the *Matturama Aiyar*, *Kalyana Sundara Mudaliyar* and *Servaikar mandapas*.

Passing out through the east *gopura* into the street, one comes upon the well-known *Pudu Mandapa* built by Tirumala Nayaka. Beyond the *Pudu Mandapa* almost in a line with it and further to its east is the unfinished *Raja Gopura* which leads to the *Elukacal* and the *Koncananta* shrine still further east. A few other minor shrines to be mentioned are the *Padine* (armed *yān* or *Karuppannavam*) shrine and the *Madurai Vīṇa* shrine on the east wall, between the *Aṣṭasakti Mandapa* and the east *gopura*, and the *Mēraḷ Gopura* (an shrine at the foot of the north *gopura*). Opposite the *Aṣṭasakti Mandapa* is the *Nagard Mandapa* which leads to the *Villa Vāṭal* which is stated to ~~surround~~ run up as far as the gateway of the east wall of the Panaya fortress of the Chola days.

A BRIEF SURVEY. Dravidian temple architecture fell into five well-recognised cycles or periods, the *Pandya*, the *Chola*, the *Pandya*, *Vijayanagar* and *Madurai* or northern periods. The *Madurai Temple* belongs to the last three periods, namely, the *Pandya*, *Vijayanagar* and *Madurai* periods. The surviving examples of the *Pandya* period are very few in number and are fragmentary but the *Madurai temple* still with its *prākāras* and high towers is the culmination of the architecture of the *Pandya* period. The bases of the east and west *gopuras*, the *kudaka* and *palaka gopuras* and some of the shrines retain *Pandya* features. The *Madurai temple* has both styles of *gopuras*, the earlier type with straight corner edges and the later ornate type with curved edges. All the inner *gopuras* are of the first type while the outer *gopura* belongs to the latter class. It should also be noted that most of the decoration on the *gopura* is confined to the outer face which was the one to be damaged most and that the inner core retains the original features in most of them.

The *Vijayanagara style* which is known for its exuberant and florid manner of decoration became sober in *Madurai* and the palace of the *Vijayanagara period* in the *Madurai temple* shows this change. For instance, the massive pillar with a slender bullock column distinct from it but still carved on a single stone became a tapered to the cubical pillar in *Madurai* as a *band square* without

any space between them. Similarly the peculiar pillar with a central column and groups of slender columnettes round it which was such a characteristic feature of the Vijayanagara works is almost absent in Madurai. The only examples of this pillar in the temple are the so-called *Masul Pillar* and two specimens in the Thousand Pillar *mandapa*. *Mandapas* and *mandapas* also were the prominent features and centres of the Vijayanagara period. The numerous *mandapas* erected in the Madurai temple reveal the distinguishing characteristics of this period. In all these one finds the *yôgi* pillar which the Vijayanagara builders favoured so much. It is only in the corridors and *mandapas* of the succeeding epoch the Madurai period that one finds the *yôgi* stem motif also on these pillars.

Many of the late 16th century and 17th century structures belong to the Madurai or modern period of which the best known example is the *Pudu Mandapa*. The *Rajagopura*, the south and north *gopuras* also belong to this period. Many of these evolutionary changes in style are noticeable in the great temple complex of Madurai.

2. OUTER GOPURAS

The four main outer *gopuras* on the east, west, north and south of the Madurai temple have a regular beauty and grace of their own. They have won the admiration of the visitor and the appreciation of the critic. Madurai temple *gopuras* lack in architectural proportion and symmetry however. They are either too wide or too narrow in proportion to their height. The masonry of the Madurai temple is a fine specimen of masonry and the towering outer *gopuras* are strikingly beautiful in their get-up.

THE EAST GOPURA The east gopura like those of the three other gopuras is a tall structure consisting of two storeys—ground floor and first storey. In the centre of the base is the projection of the entrance. The centre of the entrance runs to the top of the gopura. Over the entrance is the main *śāla* flanked on either side with the usual order of *śāla*, *pankajam* and *kūṭa* with a row of *śāla* above it. The top of the *śāla* is of the Davidian *gopura*. A little above and on either side of the four outer *gopuras* of the Madurai temple would show the *yôgi* stem motif in this general

scheme of *kūṭa*, *pañcaram* and *sālai* yet their style of ornamentation differs to some extent thus revealing subtle changes in their evolution. They differ from each other in a minor key but in their over all size and shape they are in consonance. A little outer *gopuram* are nine storeys high reaching a height of nearly 150 feet each and all of them have their sloping sides not straight but curved and concave. "A soaring upward sweep which, although not so very substantial, is very impressive"¹

The east *gopura* is considered to be the oldest among the outer *gopurams* but a few vestiges of the earlier structure are still extant today. The east *gopura* seems to have suffered the most damage as this is seen from the condition in which some of its outer parts remain today. It is on the ground floor storey of the base that some of these early vestiges are seen clearly by way of a carved and painted work. The *dharmastā*, with the *śāla* and *kāṇḍa* are all in a much damaged state.

The door of the east *gopura* of which only one half is in position today is a fine specimen, about 35 feet, running the whole length of the frame way and is a remarkable example of the wood carver's art.

The brick superstructure repeats the *kūṭa*, *pañcaram* and *sāla* motif and is well known. Much of the older structure has been replaced by modern figures many of which are in the *Tirupattiyāṉ* figures. The *gopura* seems to be well marked vertically and horizontally and is a very imposing part.

Inside the entrance to the east *gopura* or *Kūṭa gopura* are two inner pillars. The column of the *gopura* is called "Tirupāṇāṉṇaṁ-kōṇṇaṁ-kōṇṇaṁ-māṇḍikōṇḍuṁ-saṇḍaṇḍiṇḍuṁ-tirukkoṇḍuṁ."² The other column calls it "Tirupāṇāṉṇaṁ-kōṇṇaṁ-kōṇṇaṁ-māṇḍikōṇḍuṁ-saṇḍaṇḍiṇḍuṁ-tirukkoṇḍuṁ"³. *Tirupāṇḍarāman* was one of the surnames of Jajayeravar. Sumana Parthya I, at 1256 A.D., The *Tiruppan* *Pavaram*, No 3, says that the *Svāmi* *Sāṇḍa*

¹ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, page 117.

² M.E.R. 286 of 1942.

³ M.E.R. 285 of 1942.

nine-storied *gopura* was built by Sundara Pandya in S 1140 (1218 A.D.). The *Tiruppanmōlai*¹ says that the Sundara Pandya *gopura* was built by Sundara Pandyan. The *Srītula* says that the Sannidhi-*big gopura* was built by Sundara Pandya. There are also two fish crests on this east *gopura*. All these evidences and the architectural features of the *gopura* lead to the conclusion that Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, acc. 1236 A.D., was probably the builder of this *gopura*.

In the second storey of the east *gopura* there are four inscriptions on five pillars belonging to the second year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (acc. 1190,² the tenth³ and fifteenth⁴ years of Maravarman Surasena Pandya I, acc. 1216 A.D.) and the second year of Jatavarman Kuvarkkharā (acc. 1238 A.D.,⁵ whose eulogies began with *Pāṭalaṁminar*). The presence of these pillars with earlier inscriptions probably indicate that the *gopura* might have been begun by some earlier Pandya ruler and finished during the reign of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. 1236 A.D.). These inscriptions also push the date of the temple to a period anterior to the end of the 12th century. The inscription of the second year of Jatavarman Kulasekhara⁶ is the earliest so far copied in the Madurai temple.

WEST GOPURA : The west *gopura* also has many relics of an older structure mainly noticeable on the ground floor of its base. The *adishthāna* of this *gopura* is buried below the surface of the earth as the road level has considerably risen in later times.

The whole surface of this structure is covered with stucco figures of legendary and iconographic nature. Notable among these are the seated figure of the 'Crowning of the Ocean' and figures of *Rāghavānāda*.

The *Tiruppan Vāraṁ*, No. 6, says that the Adi Street nine storeyed west *gopura* was built by Parākrama Pandya in about

1. Verse 7.

2. M.E.R. 62 of 1905.

3. M.E.R. 60 of 1905.

4. M.E.R. 61 of 1905.

5. M.E.R. 59 of 1905.

6. M.E.R. 62 of 1905.

1323 A.D. The *Tiruppanmōlai*¹ also states that the *gopura* was built by Parakrama Pandya. Inside the entrance of the *gopura* are a Pandya fish crest and an inscription² in verse in praise of Parakrama Pandya. Architecturally the *gopura* may be assigned to about the 14th century A.D. During the 14th century there were several Pandya kings with the name Parākrama Pandya³. It is not known which of these rulers was the builder of the *gopura*.

SOUTH GOPURA Owing to its picturesque situation near the Golden Lily Tank the south *gopura* is the most photogenic of all the *gopuras* of the Madurai temple. Structurally it is also one of the most beautiful. The two tiers of its high stone base are well proportioned to each other and are of an imposing appearance. The intervals between projecting bays and recesses are well spaced and architecturally the whole structure is in very good taste. The entire construction is perhaps of late 16th century with late Vijayanagar and early Madurai or Nayaka characteristics. All the wall pilasters of the south *gopura* have the Vijayanagar type of squatting lions at their base.

The brick superstructure is of singular beauty though myriads of stucco figures hide its architectural construction. The coping edge has a more concave sweeping curve than in the other three *gopuras*. This gives it a peculiar elegance which is admirable.

Architecturally the south *gopura* may be assigned to about the latter half of 16th century. The *Tiruppan Viṭṭam* (No. 12) says that the Ādi Sūctē south nine-storeyed *gopura* was built by Srāmālai Sevvaṇḍi in about 1478 A.D. The *Tiruppanmōlai*⁴ also says that the *gopura* was built by Srāmālai Sevvaṇḍi. The *Srīśōla* calls the *gopura* "*paṇḍrakkadai gopura*" and says that Periya Śivandi Lingam Śevvaṇḍi built it. The Sevvaṇḍi family of Trichanopoly have contributed much to the architecture of the Madurai temple. While Srāmālai Sevvaṇḍi might have been the builder of the south

1 Verse 1.

2 M.E.R. 58 of 1905.

3 *Inscriptions*: Parākrama Pandya I (see 1315 A.D.; Maravarman Parākrama Pandya (see 1355 A.D.; Jalavarman Parākrama Pandya (II) (see 1357 A.D.); the Teṅkai ruler Parākrama Pandya who renovated the shrine at Kuttalam near Tenkasi, in about 1387 A.D.

4 Verse 27. In the footnote the editor gives the date as 1559 A.D.



Swami Vimana Sundareshvara temple Madurai



Stone Elephant, Madura



Garbhagruha base, Madura



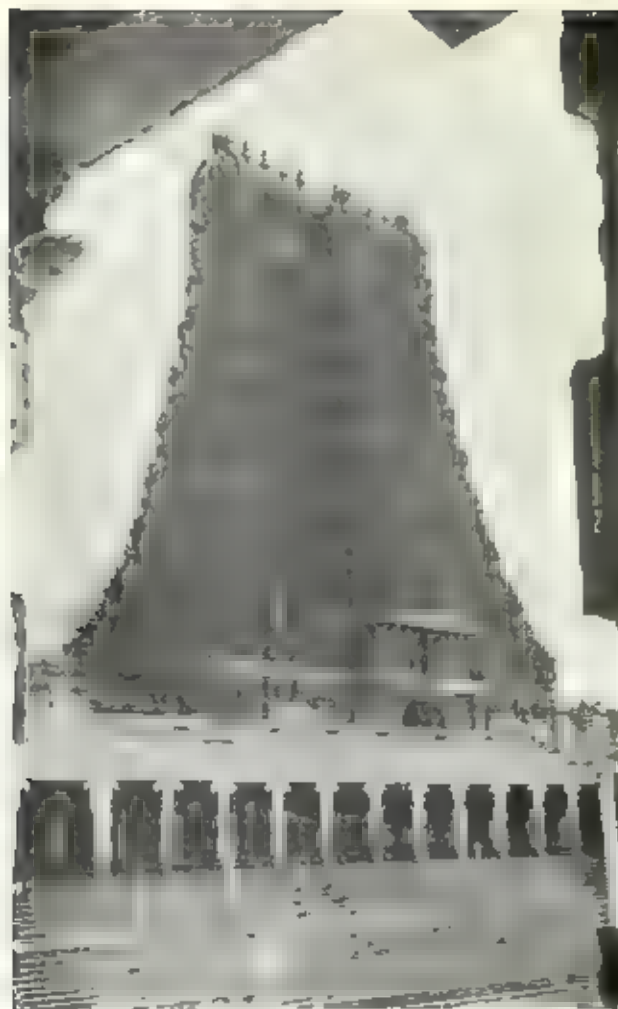
Ashlānga Vīmāna Kidāḷ Alagar temple Madurai



Somachanda Vimāna, Alagarkoil



Sanctum tower, Thiruvadavur



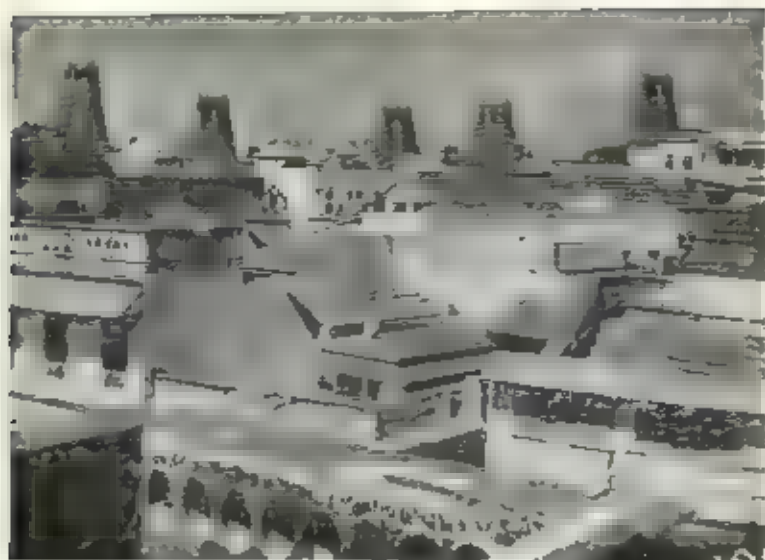
South Gopura. Madura .



West Gopura, Madurai



First Gospel, Madras

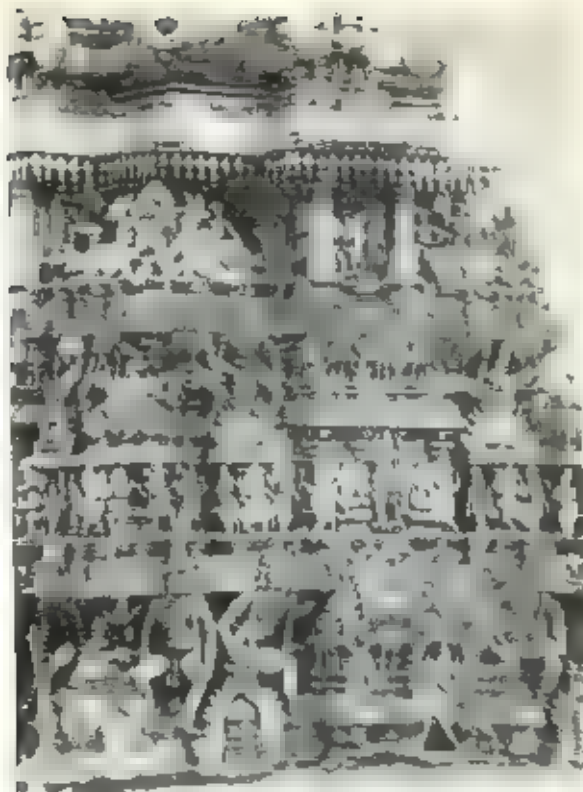


A view of the towers.



A view of the lotus tank and entrance towers

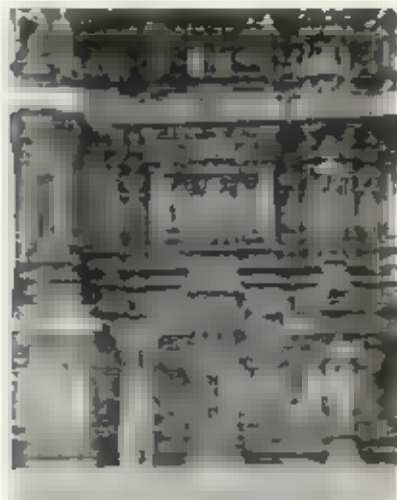
Stucco figures on
the Vamana
(These have since
been redone)



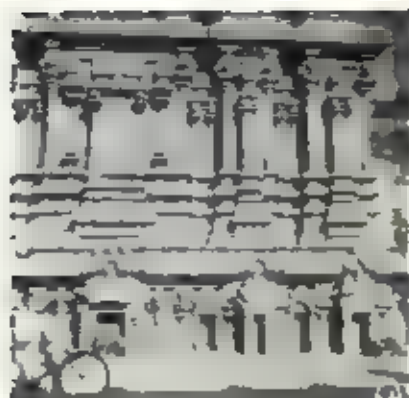
A tower of the
temple



South Outer Gopura base.



North Outer Gopura base.



East Outer Gopura base



West Outer Gopura base



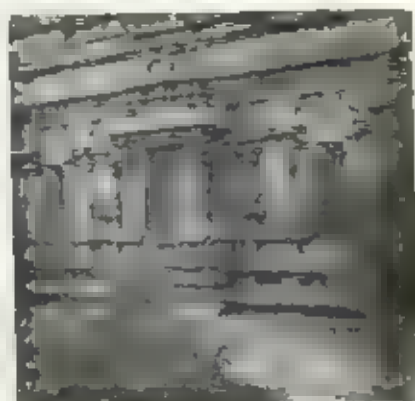
East Gopura base



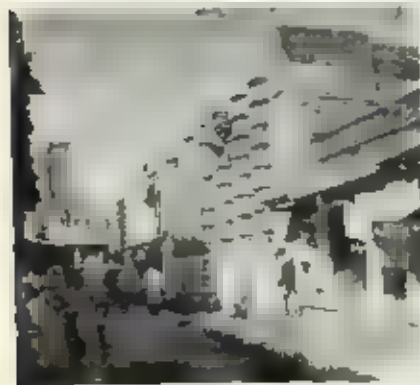
Rāya Gopura.



West Gopura base.



West Outer Gopura base



Rāya Gopura



The small Motrai Gopura



Gopura Nayaka Gopura



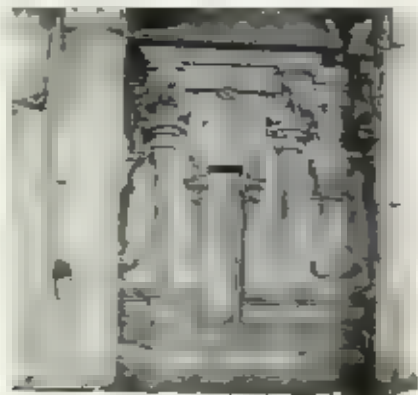
Nadukkattu Gopura



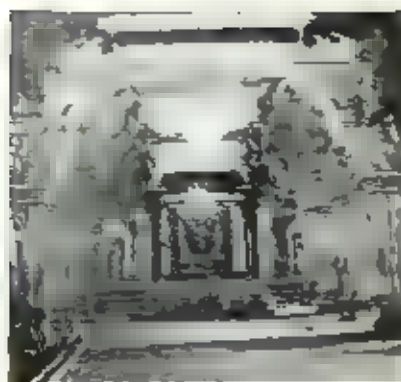
Entrance Sangattâr temple



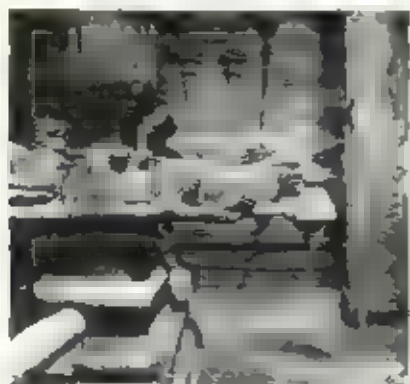
Jnānasambandar temple.



Langa shrine, thousand
pillared Mandapam.



Mandapa Nāyaka Maṇḍapam



The Water Chute thousand
pillared Maṇḍapam.



Kīlūkūṭṭu Maṇḍapam.



Composite Pillar, Kambattadi
Mandapam



Kambattadi Mandapam view from
North West.



Nandi Shrine -Kambattadi.
Mandapam



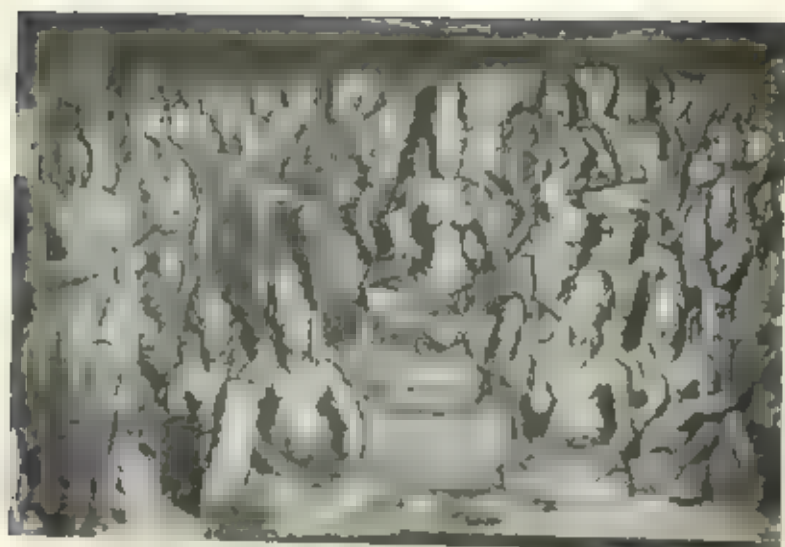
Siva as the Cosmic dancer and Parvati as the Universal spectator,
Rock-cut sculpture in an excavated cave. Thirupparamkunram,
near Madurai. 5th Century A.D.



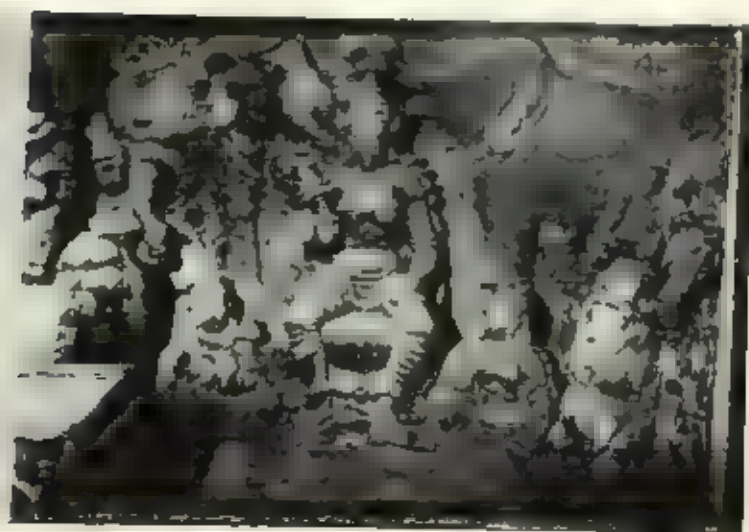
Saptamatas Early Pandya, 8th Century A.D.
(Now in the prakara of the main temple).



U'gramurti Thirupparamkanram 8th Century A.D.



Annapūrṇa, Thirupparamkunram 8th Century A.D.



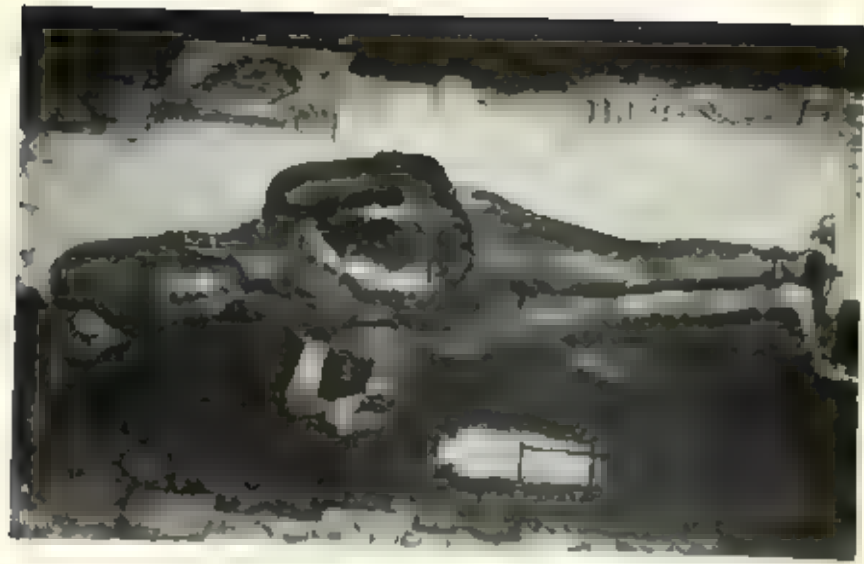
Gaḷalakṣmī, Thirupparamkunram, 8th Century A.D.



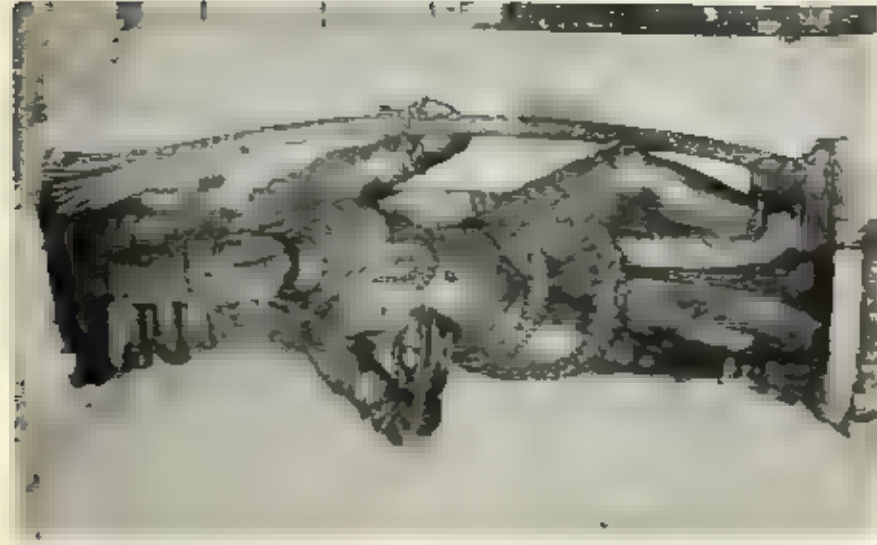
Garuda, in the rock-cut cave, Thirupparamkunram
8th Century A.D.



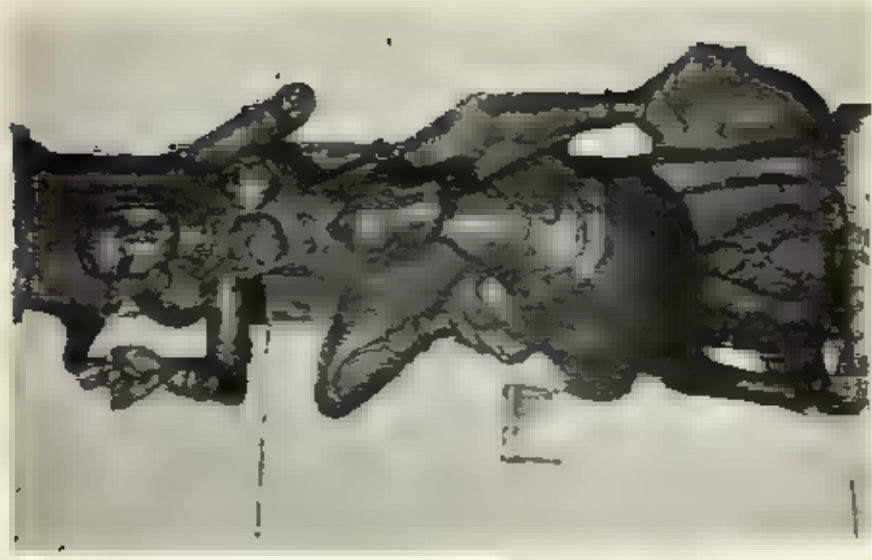
Important hall



A Portrait thousand pillared hall



Marmatha, Thousand pillared hall



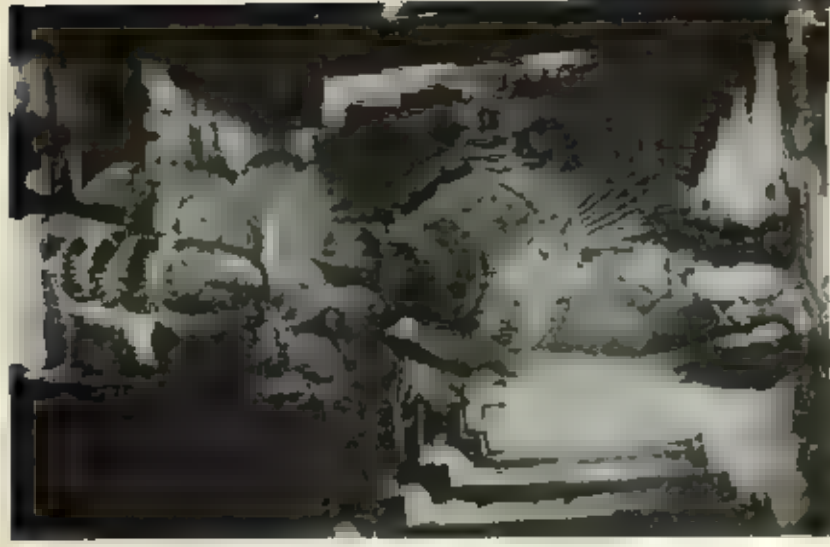
Rathu, Thousand pillared hall,



Aravanūtha madaliyar? thousand pillared hall
 (This represents Lord Chokkanātha bringing
 horses; one of the sixty four sports Editor)



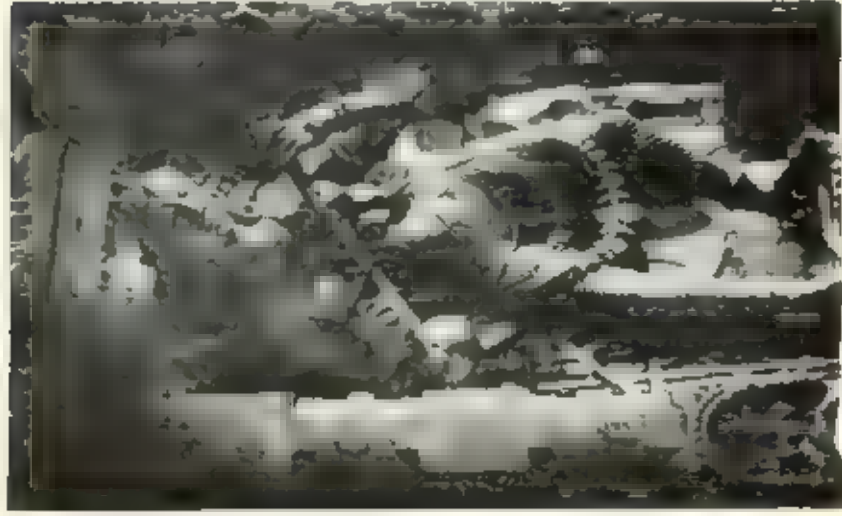
Unuch, thousand pillared hall.



A Lady thousand pillared hall



Nāgaraja, thousand pillar hall



Sarasvati, thousand pillar hall



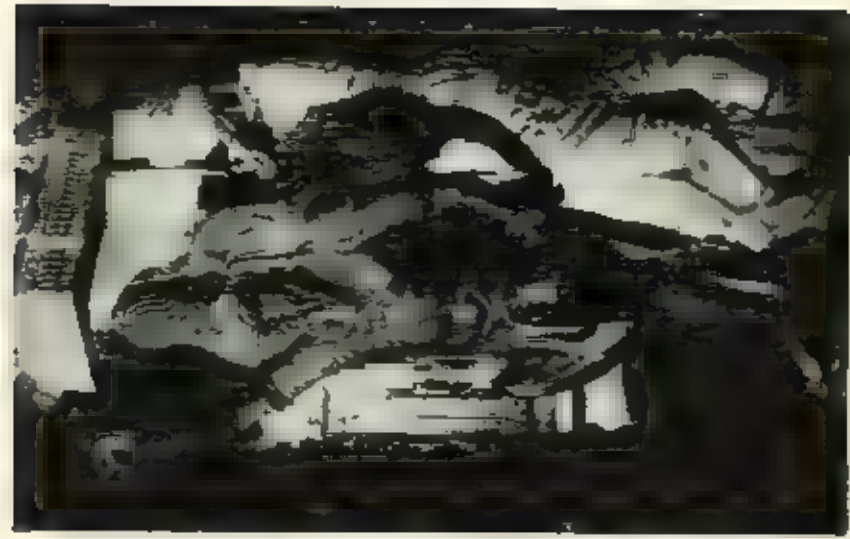
Dvārapāla, Amman Sannathi



Horse and Chariot, Hundred Pillared mandapam.



Virabhadra Thousand pāda, bust.



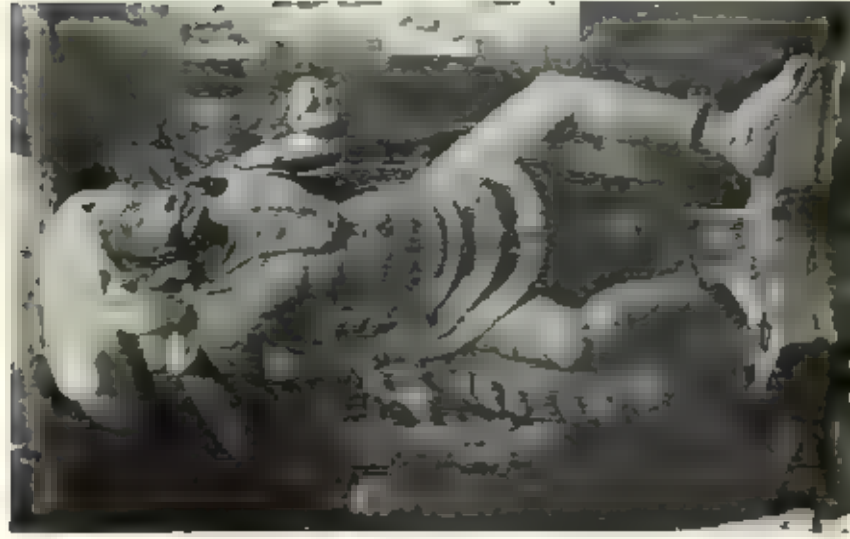
Ihāmga, Kālikōttu mandapam.



Kālī near Eastern gopura



Rudra near Eastern gopura



A Sculpture of Kirata



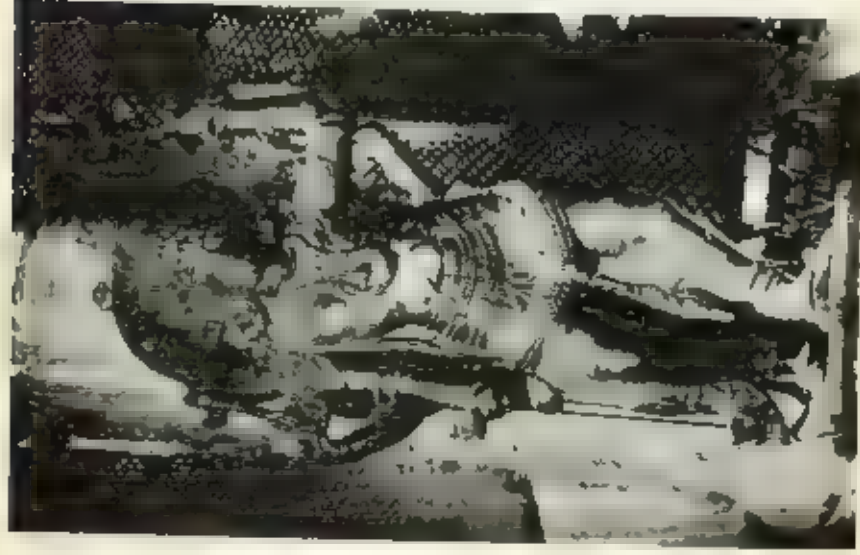
A Sculpture in the 1000-pollared mandapam



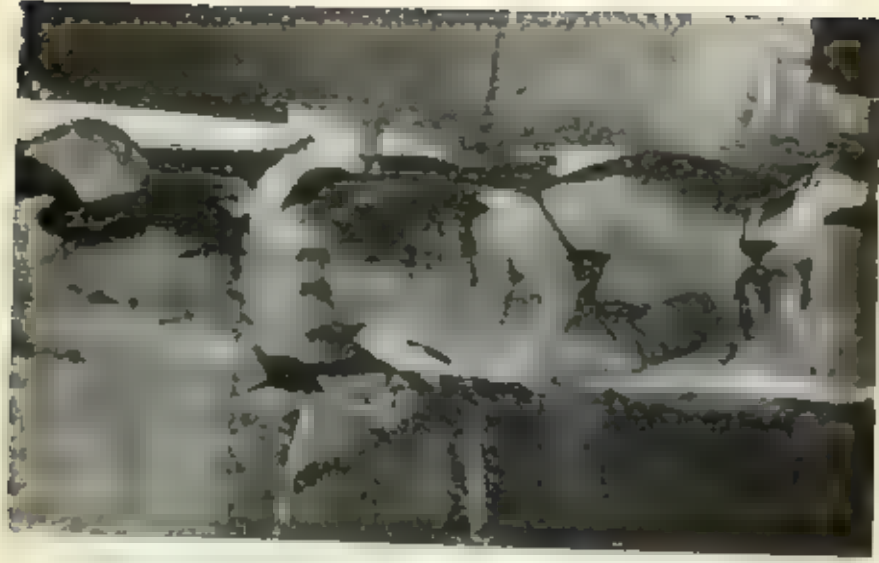
Minnāksh. Kalyānam in Pudumandapam built by
Thurumalai Nayak.



Minākshi Kalyānam Kambattadi mandapam.
8th Century A D



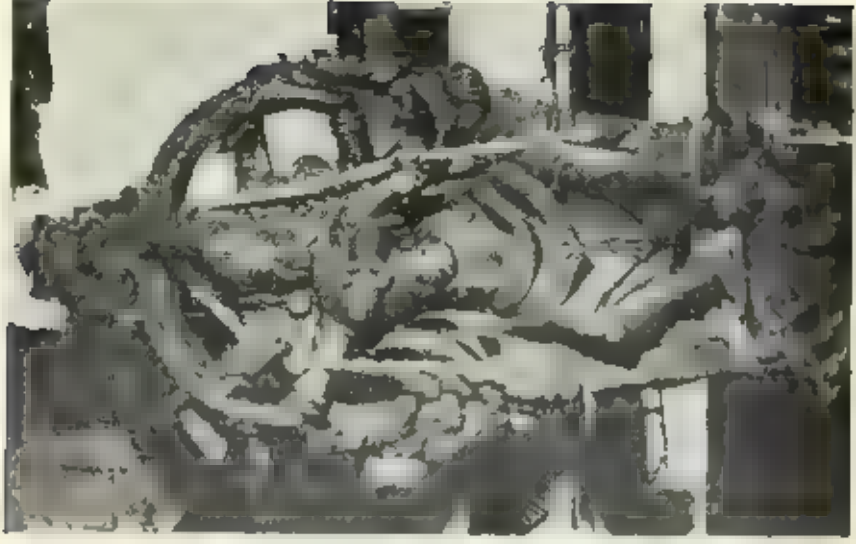
Sundaresvara Padmandapam



Tatagarai Padumadapam



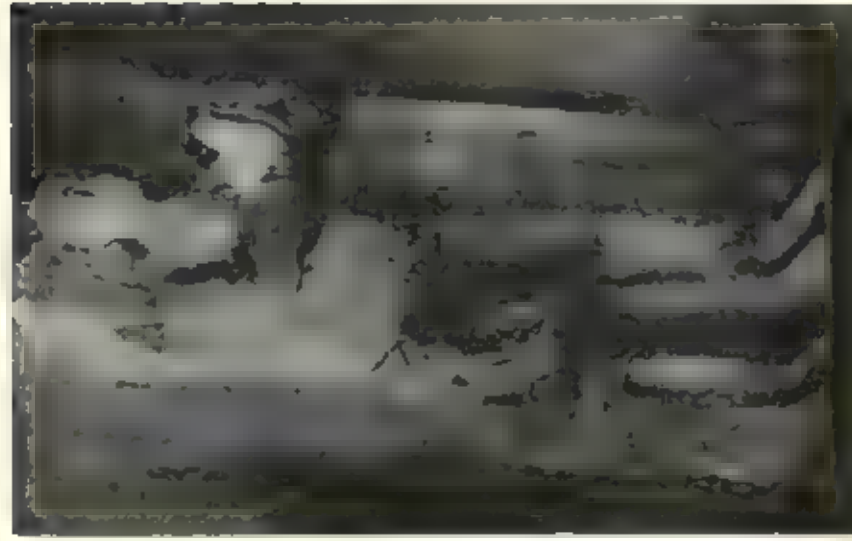
Lord Venkateswara Padmanandapuram.



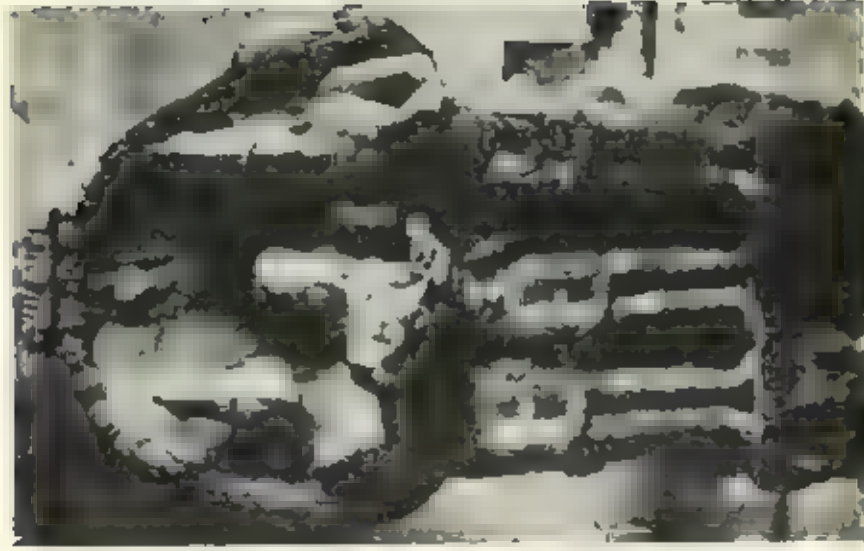
Kali, Padmanandapuram.



Tripurantaka, Podumandapam



Queen Mangammal and Vyaya Ranga
Chokkanātha Nāyaka, Thirupparankunram



Deivayana: Kalyāṇam, Thirupparankunram



Vishnu, Annakkuli
Mandapam



Vyagrapadar, Annakkuli
Mandapam



A King, Annakkuli
Mandapam.



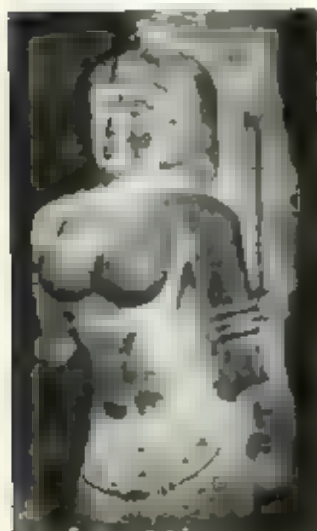
A queen Annakkuli
Mandapam.



Patangul, Annakkuli
Mandapam



Brahma, Annakkuli
Mandapam



Chour bearer Annakkuli
Mandapam



Pandya, Annakkuli
Mandapam

The Annakkuli mandapam has since been pulled down



Portrait of a Nayak, Pudukkandam.



Portrait of a Nayak, Pudukkandam.



Tirumala a. Nayaka with his queens, Pudumandapam.



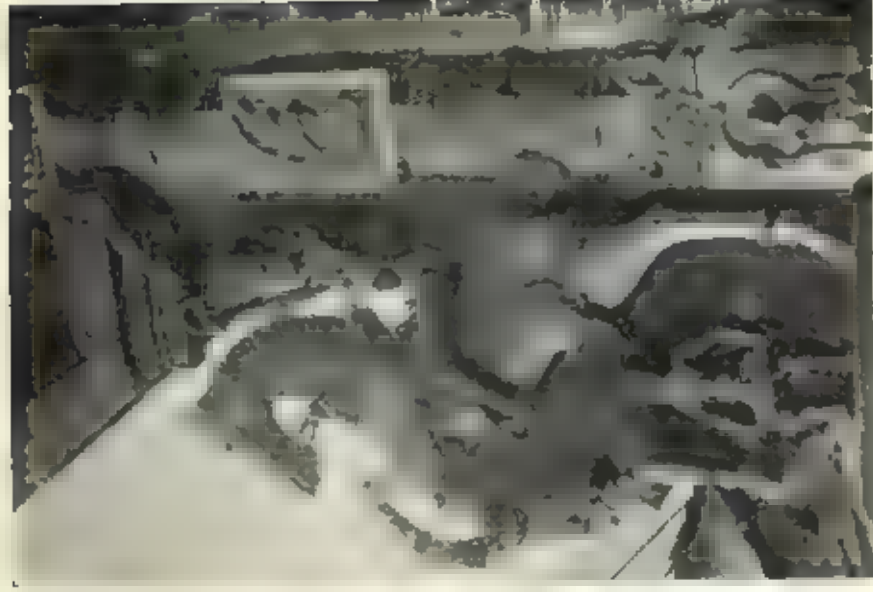
Portraits of Nayaks, Madurai.



Portraits of Nayaks, Madurai.



Portraits of Marudu brothers



A sculpture of a horse rider Thirupparankunram.



Bronze images, N. yaku period.



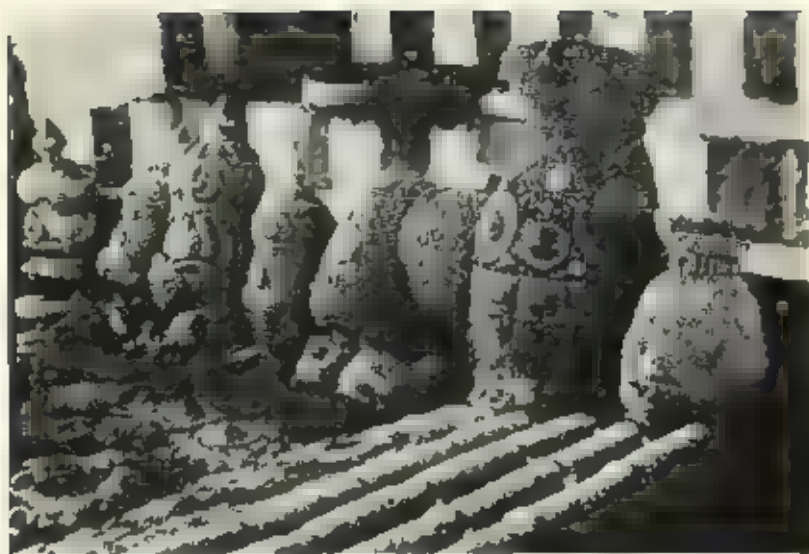
Bronze images. Nāvaka period. Madura



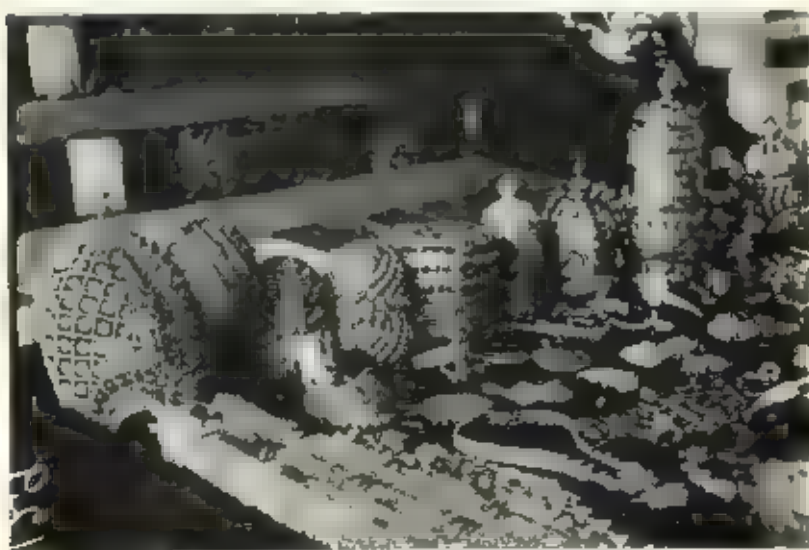
Devata Vāhana Madurai



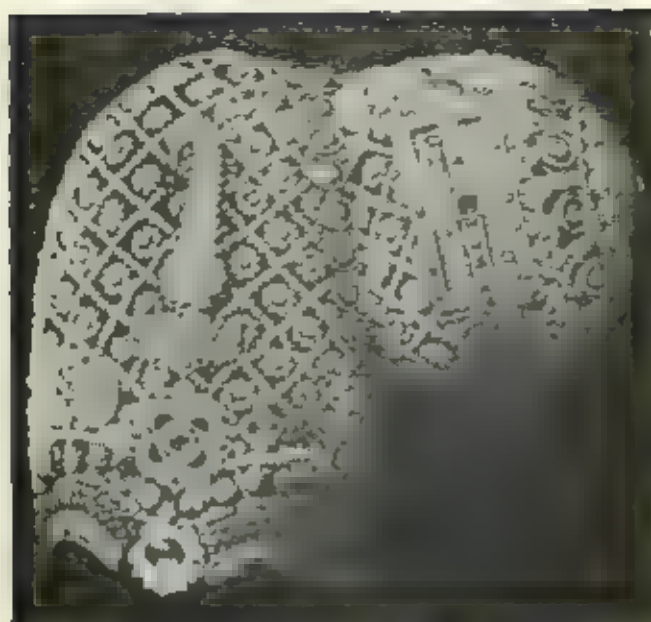
Wooden Horse Mount, Madurai, covered with metal plates gilded with gold plates.



Pearl Crowns and other ornaments



Gem set Crowns and other ornaments.



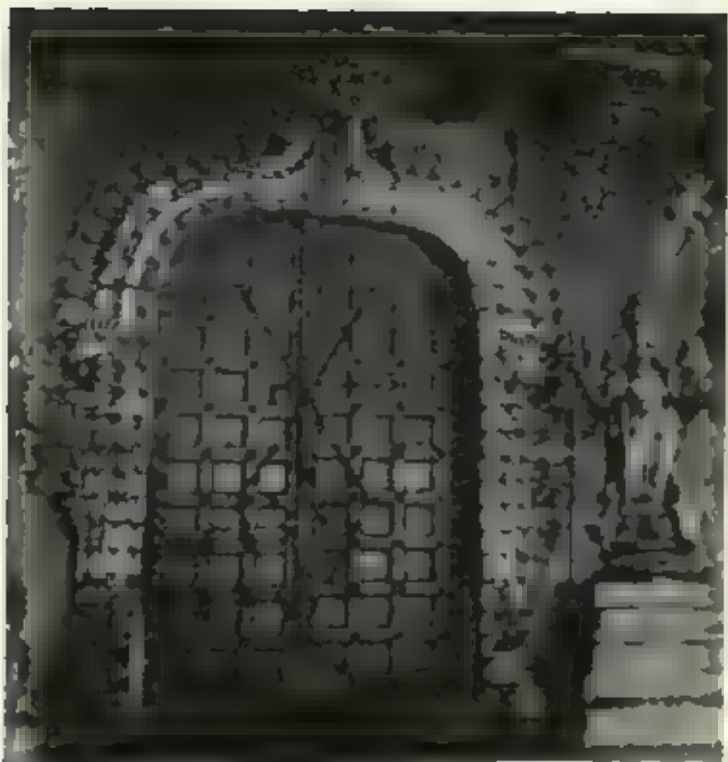
Matha konda, Vinaksh temple, Madurai



Pearl Kavacam of goddess Minaksh , Madurai



Detail of Pearl Canopy, Madura)



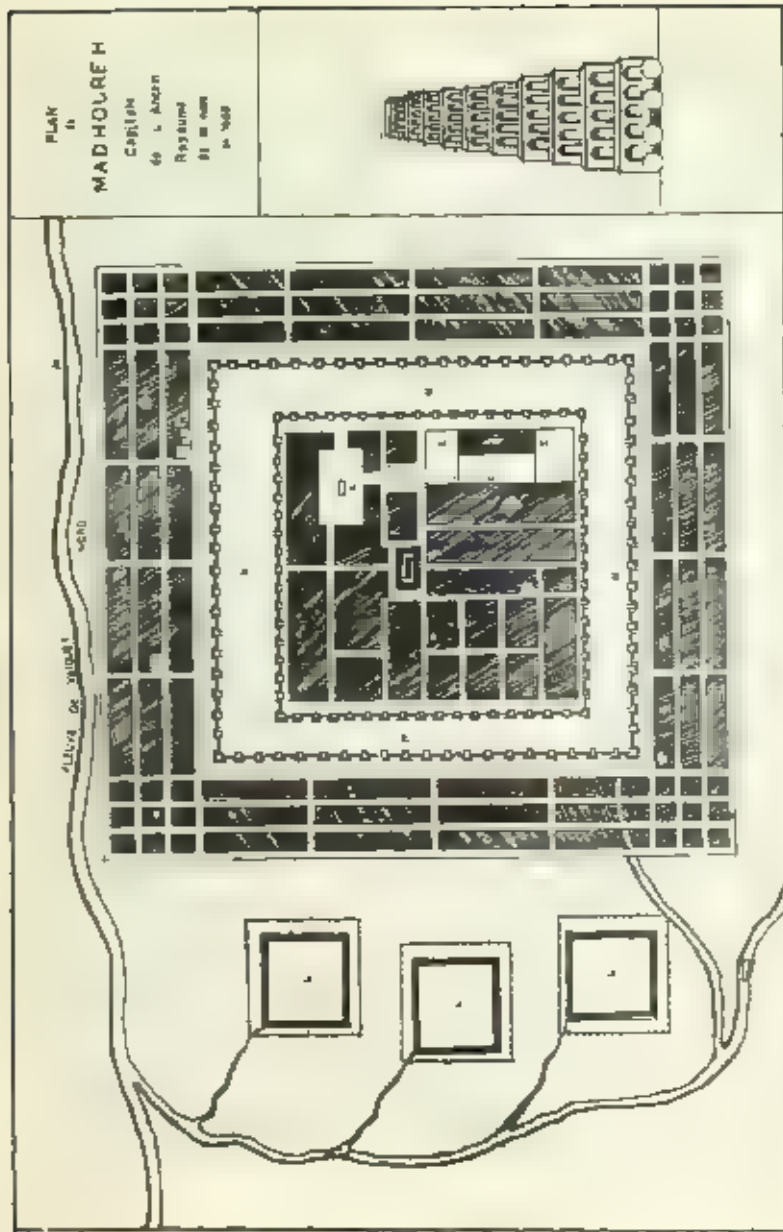
Ornamental metal lamp called Makara toran in front of the Sundaresvara shrine (This work of 17th Century has since been destroyed during renovation)



A view of the Nataka Sala
Thirumalai Nayak Palace, Madurai



Plan of Madurai in 1757 Map reproduced from "Cambridge's War in India"



Plan of Madurai (1688)

RAYA GOPURA : The *Raya Gopura* which is to the east of the *Pada Mardapa* is nearly twice the size of the base of the east *gopura* and measures very nearly 200 feet by 120 feet. It is a stupendous structure and if it had been completed it would have been one of the biggest *gopuras* in South India. The building owes its origin to Tirumala Nayaka who is also reported to have built similar unfinished *gopuras* in numerous other centres in South India. The monolithic pillars of the *Raya Gopuram* are over 50 feet high and mark the high degree of proficiency which Dravidian stone masons had attained. The *gopura* base is highly finished and ornamented. Its pavilion pillars, ushna based pilasters and the carvings on the jambs display a keen sense of massive proportions and large-scale ornamentation. There are many reliefs of Tirumala Nayaka and his queens and a figure of Mūlāksi's coronation on the wall surface. In its corbels, cornices and *kūḍus* this *gopura* also establishes the Madurai style of architecture which dates from about this time. It is a pity that this noble pile should be surrounded by sordid human habitations. A comparison with old photographs of the site taken nearly 100 years ago would show that the road level here has considerably risen so that much of the base of the *gopura* is today below ground level.

3. Inner Gopuras

The inner *gopuras* are eight in number of which only the *Citra Gopura* is seven storeys high. The rest are five storeys or less in height. All their corner edges are straight. There are no niche figures or *kumbhaṇḍas* on some of them.

THE CITRA GOPURA which is in a line with the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* was perhaps the original entrance to the sanctum. No vestiges of the earlier structure are to be seen now. The present structure is attributed to Kāḷatti Mudali, son of Āryanātha Mudali, about 1570 A.D.¹ The architectural style also supports this date.

¹ The *Tiruppani Vēṇam* No. 24 states that this *gopura* was built by Kāḷatti Mudali in S. 1492 (1570 A.D.). Verse 57 of the *Tiruppanimalai* says that Kāḷatti-nāṭṭa, the son of Āryanāṭṭa Mudali, built the stone base (*ṅarpadai*), verse 51 states that the brick superstructure (*ṅararpadai*) was raised by Kṛṣṇa Vēṇappa who is evidently the grandson of Āryanātha Nayaka. From verse 51 it may be inferred that the Citra *Gopura* was also known as the "*Muttalakkura Gopura*".

The storeys of the *Citra Gopura* are well proportioned and its lines have no rugged edges and it is one of the best of its class.

GOPURANĀYAKA GOPURA. The *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura* which leads to the Svāmi Sannidhi is a five-storeyed one and though it is attributed to a date as early as S 1294 (1372 A.D.) in *Tiruppani Viṅgam* (No 7,¹ there is hardly any trace of this early work or its later forms. An inscription² to the right of the entrance credits Vāṣappa, the son of Isvarappa, *adappan* of the Vijayanagara king Acyuta (1529-42 A.D.) with having built it for the merit of the king. This work places the *gopura* about the first part of the 16th century. The style also confirms this in many ways and may be said to be a transitional stage leading to the style prevalent in the 17th century.

NADUKATTU GOPURA. The *Nadukattu Gopura*, as its name indicates, is between the Annam and Svāmi shrines. It is a five-storeyed structure and its style, like that of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*, is that of the mid-sixteenth century.

Both *gopuras* are ornamented with many beautiful niche figures. For stone carving is of a high order. Bhairava and Virabhadra are seen standing to the right of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*, while Nataraj and Saṃmakha are in the *Nadukattu Gopura*. The *Tiruppani Viṅgam* (No. 10) mentions this *gopura* to have been built by Sevanda Murti S 1481 (1559 A.D.),³

KADAKA GOPURA: Architecturally the *Kadaka Gopura* which was the western entrance to the Annam Sannidhi seems to be the oldest among the *gopuras* but strangely enough it has been overlooked by many writers. All the features point to a rather early date for this edifice which one would like to place between the 13th and 14th centuries. Many of the mouldings of this *gopura* are much mutilated and are now covered with thick coats of whitewash.

1 The *Tiruppani Viṅgam* (No. 7) gives the builder's name as Vāṣuvappan and the *Tuṣṭipannalai* (v. 14) as Vāṣappa Nāyaka of Atugiri.

2 M.E.R. 269 of 1942.

3 The *Tuṣṭipannalai* (v. 23, also states that this *gopura* was built by Sevanda Mur. See II.

The *Tiruppani Viaram* (No 25) refers to one *Vira Tummacci* as the builder and gives the date as S. 1492 (1570 A.D.)¹ This perhaps refers to the brick structure above and could not in any manner refer to the much older stone base.

PALAKA GOPURA This is next to the *Kadaka Gopura* and was the western entrance to the *Svami shrine*. The presence of *Panlya kudus*, the figures of *gan* in the entablature and the *syala* above the *kodungu* are early features similar to those in *Kadaka Gopura*. The mouldings on the base also exhibit forms later than those of the *Kadaka Gopura*. I would hesitate to date the structure to the 14th century. The *Tiruppani Viaram* (No 3) also refers to *Malappan* as the builder and to date according to this authority would be about S. 1296 (1374 A.D.), which also corresponds with the style of the *Gopura*.

The *Palaka Gopura* is the model for many of the modern *gopuras* constructed in the present day.

GINNA MOTTAI GOPURA The five-storied *Ginna Mottai Gopura* is on the northern side of the *Svami Sannidhi prakara*. It is in many ways similar to the *Gopura Nayaka* and the *Adukattu Gopura* being constructed about the same period, though some of its architectural features retain a somewhat earlier type. The *Tiruppani Viaram* No. 11 credits *Sevandi Velan* as its builder about the year 1560 A.D.² Architecturally also it may be assigned to the latter half of the 16th century A.D.

SANNIDHI GOPURA: The two *Sannidhi gopuras* are perhaps two of the earliest structures existing in the temple. Much of the architectural details of the *Svami Sannidhi Gopura* have been hidden behind later structures and very little of it is visible. The early part of the structure may perhaps date about the 13th or 14th centuries.

¹ The *Smriti* also says that the *Kadukkaya* (*Kadaka Gopura*) was built by *Virappa Tumma*.

² The *Tiruppannamalai* (v. 34) also states that this *gopura* was built by *Sevandi Vela Setti*.

The base of the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* has also early features. Parts of the two Sannidhi *gopuras* may perhaps belong to a period between the 12th-13th centuries, the Svami Sannidhi *gopura* being about the 12th-13th centuries and the Amman Sannidhi¹ may belong to the latter half of the 13th century.

4. The Two Sanctums

Svami Garbhagriha

The sanctum of the Sundaresvarar shrine is a square structure, the exterior walls measuring 33 ft. on all four sides. The base has a *upapatha* and an *adhisthana*. On the south, west and north sides of the walls of the garbhagriha are three bays or shrines which project six feet from the wall surface. The bays are 8' 6" each in length. The shrine in the south is dedicated to Dakṣināmūrti, that on the west has Lingodbhava while the one on the north has Durgā². In front of these shrines is a modern platform on which a ladder gives access.

A niche is on either side of these three central shrines. The niches are plain without any niche pilasters or entablatures. Each niche is filled by a large stone elephant measuring about 100 feet high. These elephants are finely sculptured, look realistic and are very impressive. There are slight variations in the ornaments carved on them and in the material held in their trunks. These variations give them a certain individuality. According to legend the *vimāna* in which Somaśundaresvara is enshrined was known as *Indravimāna* as it was made to the order of Indra by Visvakarma. The *vimāna* is supported by eight *dik-gajas* (i.e., the guardian elephants of the eight

1 The *Tiruppan Vannam* No. 4 says that the Amman Sannidhi three-storied *gopura* was built by Anandaśandava Nambiar in S 1250 (1228 A.D.), while the *Tiruppanmala* v. 13 says that it was built by Anandaśandava Nambiar's wife Anandaśandava Nambiar in S 1250. They have belonged to the family of Perumbarrappulavar Nambiar who wrote the "*Tirupattapaṇḍitar Tirumalaivaṇi*".

2. *Tiruppanmala*, verse 19, states that the Dakṣināmūrti, Lingodbhava and Durgā *murtis* were built by Kāmpalaraya Maṭṭapaṭṭar, perhaps a reference to Kumara Kāmpaṇa, while verse 58 says that the Durgā *murti* was built by Nayanar Maṭṭaṭṭar.

directions) These stone elephants are believed to represent the eight or *aṣṭadiggajas*. Six of them are seen on the exterior walls and the remaining two are close to the east wall of the *garbhagriha* within the *ardhamandapa*.

The *vimāna* repeats in all its three storeys, the projections and recesses on the *garbhagriha* walls. Though it has been renewed a number of times and many stucco figures have been either altered or added, the essential characteristics of an earlier structure have been retained. The stucco figures, though numerous, do not detract from the main lines of the edifice. The gold-plated *sikhara* is one of the most beautiful and impressive parts in the whole temple.

The adytum is a small cubicle measuring about 11 feet square. The wall of the *garbhagriha* is a thick one measuring over 8' 10". The *Svayambhu* *linga* occupies the centre of the *garbhagriha* and the figure of Manonmani, facing south, occupies the north-east corner of the sanctum. A narrow passage about four feet long leads from the *garbhagriha* to the *antarāla* which is a little over 8 feet wide. Just outside the *antarāla* is the *ardhamandapa* whose walls are practically an continuation of the *garbhagriha*. Close to the line where the *ardhamandapa* joins the *garbhagriha* is a beautiful stone-pierced window in a niche in the north and south walls. The window opening has its own short semi-pilasters and a *torana* over its beam. The *ardhamandapa* floor rises to a level just below the *kumudam* of the *adishthana* of the *garbhagriha*. So the base of the *garbhagriha* below the *kumudam* is covered by the floor of the *ardhamandapa* and could not be seen. The *adishthana* of the *ardhamandapa* has the same mouldings as the *garbhagriha* and the same kind of wall pilasters, corbels and cornice. But there are no niche openings though short niche pilasters with a cornice and a pavilion with *sōlas* roof and central *kōdu* decorate the wall surface. The cornices of these wall niches have the same kind of simulated timber work as on the under-surface of the main cornice surrounding the wall.

The doorway leading from the *ardhamandapa* to the *garbhagriha* has a *torana* on top, and the cubical pillars flanking the *antarāla* are just plain square shafts with an over-size bevel and tenon gorbels. The two stone elephants mentioned already are on the walls on each side of these square pillars. The nave of the *ardhamandapa* has a row of three pillars on either side. The inner surface of the walls of the *ardhamandapa* are plain and undecorated.

In front of the *ardhamandapa* is a *mukhamandapa*. The doorway leading from this *mukhamandapa* to the *ardhamandapa* has a Gajalakṣmī panel on the lintel. On either side of this doorway in the *mukhamandapa* are two *drārapālakas*. Next to the *drārapālaka* is Vallabha Ganapati on the south and next to the *drārapālaka* on the opposite side is an image of Subrahmanya on the peacock. Two doorways on the northern and southern side of the *mukhamandapa* lead to the first *prakāra*. Four pillars form a square in the centre of the *mukhamandapa*. The *mukhamandapa* leads to the large *mahā mandapa*.

The *mahā mandapa*¹ measures about 55 feet in width and 85 feet in length. There are four projecting bays on each of the exterior sides of the four walls of the *mahā mandapa*. The *śaṣṭhāna* of the *mahā mandapa* differs slightly from that of the *garbhagrha*. The walls of the *mahā mandapa* are decorated with many stucco panels illustrating the *Tiruvilaiyālal* legends.

There is an entrance to the *mahā mandapa* from the eastern side of the first *prakāra*. Access to this entrance is from the *Arukāl piṭha* adjoining the *mahā mandapa*. A second entrance to the *mahā mandapa* is on its southern side. This entrance faces the Sabhāpati shrine which is on the opposite wall, in the north. Two rows of pillars on all four sides of the *mahā mandapa* support its ceiling. The Sabhāpati shrine is the famous Velliyaṁbaḷam where God Sundaresvara is said to have danced as Natarāja to give *darsan* to the sages Vyāghrapāda and Patanjali who had come to the wedding. Two statues of the sages are close to the shrine. The Natarāja image in the shrine is a large figure nearly 6 feet high and is seen covered by a silver *kavaca*. The image of the Amman standing by the side of Natarāja is well sculptured and appears to be old work. A number of processional bronze images are kept on platforms close to the walls of the *mahā mandapa*. Among these is an image of the Sāḍhar who figures largely in the *Tiruvilaiyālal* legends. This *ido* appears to be an old piece. Among other bronzes are those of the Śaiva saints.

1 The *Tiruppaṇṇi* Program, No. 8, says that Maṇu built the *mahā mandapa* in S. 1374-1452 A.D. while the *Tiruppaṇṇi* at verse 40, says that Tirumānirunjai Mahācal carried out repairs to the *mahā mandapa* and *Arukāl piṭha*. This is evidence a reference to Tirumānirunjai āṇṇ Maval anadarayan who ruled from about 1453 to 1477 A.D. in the Madurai country.

In the north-west corner of the *mahā mandapa* is a walled up strong room or *karu ālam* as it is called in Tamil. This is one of a number of such strong rooms in the temple. The strong room in the *mahā mandapa* has a collection of bronzes of various gods and goddesses. Some of the pillars of the *mandapa* which are walled up are, however, interesting for they are of the early cubical type with late 13th c. Pandya corbels of the bevel and tenon fluted type. Similar pillars are in the Sangattār temple.

The *śrīkāl pīṭha* in front of the *mahā mandapa* is an imposing structure whose bulbous capital octagonal pillars with lotus bud corbels and carvatus over the abacus look very like early pillars but really belong to the 14th or 15th centuries.¹ The bases of these pillars have pavilion ornamentation and the *pīṭha* of the *mandapa* has a frieze of dancing figures in various attitudes with attendant musicians. They are evidently performing before the king who is seated in a panel on the proper left. Smaller friezes of dancing figures are in a row above the *kapata* which is fully ornamented with a lotus *śal* motif.

Though all the authorities state that the *garbhagrha* was spared by the Muslims and that it did not suffer damage, yet one could see that the present structure is not as old as this would make it out to be. Extensive restoration has been done and much of the older work could be seen mixed up with later-day structural additions. It is very likely that the *adhṛṣṭāna* of the *garbhagrha* retains the largest number of old features though even here a certain amount of repaired work is easily distinguishable. Many of the *kūṭas* are of the Pandya type but many others have been recarved. Also the pilasters on the *kanta* of the *upapīṭha* appear to be restorations. It is not possible at present to say how the wall of the *garbhagrha* was originally built up. Many of the stone courses seem to be late insertions as well as

1 The *Tiruppanmala*, verse 21, states that Sundara Maval renovated the *śrīkāl pīṭha*. This probably refers to Sundarattatālarayan, the son of Tirumal-tiruppannambran Mavalāṅgādayayan, who ruled in the Madurai country in the second half of the 15th century A.D.

the lion bases to the pilasters. The elephants which appear to be old work do not seem to fit in happily in the niches in which they now stand. Very likely there might have been some other arrangement in the wall wherein these elephants could have fitted in better. The *ganas* which are placed loosely on the *pylons* also reveal that they may have formed part of the original's structure and that the restorers not knowing what to do with them just placed them anyhow in the most convenient position they could find. The corbels of the wall pilasters and the associated cornice above are certainly late features and could not have been part of the old structure but the presence of cubical pillars with late 13th century jewel and tenon fluted corbels in some of the walls within the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* prove again the antiquity of the shrine.

Minakshi Shrine

The Minakshi shrine and its *prāsādas* are smaller than those of the Sundaresvara shrine. The *garbhagriha* of the sanctuary is almost a square measuring about 20 feet each side with the *ardha mandapa* in its front. It measures about 25 feet by 45 feet.

The *garbhagriha* entrance has a Gajalakṣmī panel or its beam under a *torana*. On either side of the entrance there seem to be two wall niches without opening but a modern brick wall and wooden shutters hide the wall surface here. The *ardhamandapa* has a plain interior and there are no pillars in it. Two four-handed *devatā* statues are at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. Four modern pillars support a small entrance *mandapa* on the east wall of the *ardhamandapa*.

The *garbhagriha* walls have three projecting bays with niches. These have short pilasters at the corners and semi-pilasters at the niche openings. In the niche of the central bay on the south is the image of Iccāṣakti, that on the west has Kriyāṣakti while that on the north has Jñānaṣakti.

The *mahāmāṇḍapa* has six rows of pillars forming a central nave and three aisles on either side. The pillars of the nave are of the same type as those in Karivamāyikkā temple. The pillars of the aisles are of the ordinary cubical type.

The *śrūṅgāḥ piṭha* has four pillars in the front and one each on the two sides. The two central pillars on the front have large *yālī* figures and the two corner pillars are of the same composite type of rounded columnettes associated with cubical capital pillars as in the *ardhamandapa*. The two pillars on the sides of the *piṭha* are ordinary cubical pillars.

The *paṭṭiyarai* (bed chamber) and the shrines of Vignneśvara and Śaṅbrāhmanya which are in the sanctum are in the same style as the rest of the structure. The only additional feature noticeable on the wall surface are *kumbapinnaras* with slender shafts.

The architectural features of the *Mūḍaka* sanctum seem to indicate that it may belong to the first half of the Vijayanagar period, about the 15th century or so¹.

5 Shrines and Ivarams

(i) Sangattar Temple

Quite an important shrine in the Madurai temple and one of the older also is the Sangattār temple situated in the north-west corner of the Svāmī Sannidhi second *prākāra*. The images of the Sangam poets are in this shrine.

The temple has many interesting architectural features. The shrine faces south and is approached by a flight of steps leading to the platform from which another short flight of steps leads to the sanctum doorway. The doorway is flanked by a *godura* pillar on either side of it.

Going into the temple one finds a small platform running round the four walls, with images of the Sangam poets arranged along the top. The platform seems to be a late addition and one does not know what the original temple was intended to house. Taking all its architectural characteristics into consideration there should

1 The *Tiruppaṭṭi Vicaṭam*, No. 3 says that the Amman Sannidhi first *prākāra*, *paṭṭiyarai* and *śrūṅgāḥ piṭha* were built by Māvali in S 1374 (1452 A.D.). The *Tiruppanmōḍai*, verse 22, says that the Amman Sannidhi *mūḍa mandapa*, first *prākāra* and *paṭṭiyarai* were built by Tīrumāḷirāṇjola Mahavali.

be no difficulty in believing that the shrine must be a Pandya construction between the 12th and 13th century, especially as it represents the transitional stage from the niche with *torana* to the niche with pavilion, both of which types are found on the walls of this temple. It is also curious that this early shrine is not mentioned either in the *Tiruppani Vavaram* or *Tiruppanmōlai* or in the later *Satōla*. So the Sangattār images might have been put in at a later date from which time it has come to be known as the Sangattār temple. It is not clear to which deity, if any, the temple must have been originally dedicated.

(ii) *Kaṇṇamāyikā Parvatī Temple*

This shrine which is to the north of the Svāmī Sannidhi: second *prākāra* on the northern side has at present no deity in it. No authentic information is available at present as to what became of the idols which must have once occupied this shrine and gave it its name. The shrine which faces east has a beautiful five-aisled *mandapa* in front running to a length of nearly 80 feet.

The sanctum presents again a rather curious mixture of types. This is an enclosed apartment with walls on all four sides, the front wall occupying the width of the central nave and two side aisles. Thus the two end aisles form a sort of corridor or *pradakṣiṇa* round the central shrine. The corridors are illuminated by clerestory windows on the roof.

The central shrine could be entered through the front entrance on the east side or from the opening on the south side. A short flight of steps leads to the platform. The interior is rather a plain structure, the walls being bare without any ornamentation.

(iii) *Vignesvarar Shrine*

As one enters through the south *gopura* and turns left one comes upon what is known as the Vighnesvara Mandapa adjoining the wall at the south-east corner of the Javandisvarar garden. An examination of this *mandapa* reveals many interesting features. This small *mandapa* now houses a Vighnesvara image with a few Naga images.

The Vighneśvara image is placed on an upturned capital with *śal* taken from some broken bulbous capital pillar. It looks as though these images have been just collected from similar stray figures in the temple and placed in recent years here.

Just at the back of the wall of this Vighneśvara *mandapa* is the Visvanātha shrine in the south-east corner of the garden. Entrance to this shrine is from the west colonnade of the Golden Lily Tank. The entrance is on a platform. Going into the shrine one finds four cubical pillars of an earlier type with corbels of the 14th century. The exterior of this shrine as seen from the garden reveals other early features. This medley of early and modern features presents one with a guessing game as to how the original was like or what purpose it served.

The eastern wall of the Svāmī first *prākāra* presents a similar puzzle. This has a number of shrines erected in front of the wall but a look inside a few of them reveals remnants of early type pilasters and niche plaques. At the wall on which these are found is an old one and as it has a mediaeval Pandya inscription of the 12th-13th century the presence of these plaques points to the existence of some early features here. However, they have been destroyed and their trace except for these pilasters is now lost.

(10) *Iṣṭamans*

The Svāmī Sannidhi second *prākāra* on the west side contains a number of small shrines called *Iṣṭamans*, all ranged in a row close to the wall on either side of the *Palaka Gopura*. There are 14 such shrines, six on the southern half and eight on the northern half of the *prākāra*. Each of these shrines has a *garbhagrha* and a chamber in front corresponding probably to an *ardhamandapa*. There is a *linga* in most of them. Between the front facade of each shrine a wall has been raised, perhaps at a later date, for security purposes. The shrines therefore must have been free standing originally.

One of the shrines (No. 8) faces south while all the rest face east. All the shrines are on a platform running the length of the wall. There is a row of cubical pillars with bevel and ionon corbel along the edge of the platform. The shrines on the southern half

are set back to the wall of the *Palaka Gopura* leaving a passage between the pillars of the platform and the front of the shrines themselves. But the *Isaarams* on the northern side of the *prakāra* wall have their entrance flush with the edge of the platform and there is a wide space between their back walls and the wall of the *Palaka Gopura* on that side. Many of the shrines now have only a flat roof but a few of them appear to have once had a *vimāna* over them. It is quite likely that the roofs of many of them were damaged some time or other and that new ceilings were put up subsequently. At present shrines Nos. 7, 8 and 12 have *vimāna*. The *vimāna* over shrine No. 8 is of an unusual shape. The other two *vimānas* are in a very dilapidated condition.

The fourth shrine and the twelfth shrine appear to be older than the rest judging from the architectural features. But it is not known when these shrines were actually built or by whom. In a general way one may say that some of them, especially shrines Nos. 4 and 12, may go back to as early as the 13th and 14th centuries. The others may not be far later, though one may find a *prākāra bodigaḥ* or a *kapala* with later *kudus* on some of them. The *Tiruppanmōlai* mentions a number of persons as having constructed several *Isaarams*¹.

It is not known whether these refer to the construction of the *Isaarams* on the west side. But it is curious that the number of *Isaarams* mentioned in the *Tiruppanmōlai* tallies more or less with those on the western corridor if one leaves out Shrine Nos. 4 and 12 which, as stated above, appear to be older. But apart from this none of the names mentioned in the *Tiruppanmōlai* could be identified with any

1 *Isaarams* mentioned in the *Tiruppanmōlai*:

Tiruvambalavaram, built by Siramala; Sevvandi Murti Setti (verse 29); Murtisvaram and Vayuvaram, by Sevvandi Velan (verse 34); Vinsvaram, Kittisvaram and Avankarisvaram, by Vira Kṛmappa Nayaka (verse 59); Peddisvaram, by Vayvankāppavan, son-in-law of Peddan (verse 73); Velisvaram, by Siramala; Velappa Sitta; Sevvandi (verse 74); Vinsvaram and Kalattisvaram, by Ariyanayina Mudali (verse 56); Arisvaram, by Kalattinattai, son of Ariyanayina Mudali (verse 56) and Sevvuvaram, by Kṛmā Vira Nayaka (verse 53).

of the *Isvarams*. According to this source the *Isvarams* would appear to have been built in the latter half of the 16th century. This date may appear to be rather late if one considers the architectural features. As it is evident that quite a lot of restoration and renovation work has been done, it may be that it is this restoration work that the *Tiruppanmōlai* refers to or it may also be that the persons mentioned in the *Tiruppanmōlai* might have added the chamber or *ardhamandapa* in front of the *garbhagriha* of the *Isvarams*. The question, however, should remain an open one for the present.

Shrines No. 7 facing east and No. 8 facing south abut each other at the corners and have a smaller *mandapa* common to both, in front of them. As both these shrines have *vimānas* also, it may perhaps indicate that the shrines were of some importance either intrinsically or because they might have been built by a royal personage. Similarly shrine No. 12 has a *vimāna* and in place of a *mandapa* has *cairn* bearers on the corridor pillars in front of it. This may indicate that it is also of some importance.

Shrine No. 2 has only a *garbhagriha* and its *ardhamandapa* has given place to a rather large pillared hall open to the ceiling. This area reveals the many alterations and additions so characteristic of these shrines. The *kapota* only of the base of the *garbhagriha* is visible over the floor. It shows that the base must extend below and that the platform has been raised over it. Similarly extra lengths of pillars have been placed on the *garbhagriha* roof to support the main ceiling of the corridor.

6. Mandapas

(i) Kumbattadi Mandapa

The Madurai temple contains many *mandapas* and corridors and of these the *Aṭṭakālī Mandapa*, the *Kumbattadi Mandapa*, the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* and the *Fudu Mandapa* form a famous quartette.

The *Kumbattadi Mandapa* is also known as the *Aṭṭakālī mba Mandapa*, the *Sundaresvarar Mandapa* or the *Dharmasthambha Mandapa*. It is located between the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura* and the *Sudāṁti Sannidhi Gopura* in the second *prākāra* on the east

The *mandapa* which is in the centre of the *prakāra* has a passageway on each side of it. This *mandapa* which encloses the Nandi shrine with two *dhvajastambhas* and *balipitha* has eight magnificent pillars. Each of these monolithic pillars is adorned with carvings of the twentyfour *Siva Māhātams*. Noteworthy among the sculptures are those of Rishabhārūda, Rishabhāntika, Maākshimarmara, Somanakanda, Kaulāsārūda, Tripurāri etc. Four other huge statues of Ūṇḍava Tāndava, Kālī Aghora Virabhadra and Agni Virabhadra are to be seen in the *prakāra* on either side of the entrance of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*. These statues which are over ten feet high are magnificent specimens of sculptural work and are strikingly impressive. A detailed account of these is given in another section elsewhere. The Nandi shrine is a singularly beautiful example of Vijayanagar style.

The Nandi is almost life size and the carving is well finished. The *umbra* of the shrine is highly painted with gold and variegated colours. The two *dhvajastambhas* are well proportioned and are gilded. The ugly iron railings which are used to enclose this part of the *mandapa*, is an eyesore and a mockery to the magnificent sculptural work of the pillars.

There is an air of sanctity pervading the whole of the *Kambartadī Mandapa* which is due perhaps to the large group of iconographic sculptures and the exceptionally high ceiling supported by ornamental pillars typical of the Madurai period. The central nave of the *prakāra* has two rows of cubical composite pillars richly sculptured and ornamented and a single row of polygonal pillars just inside the composite pillars on the eastern side. The nave on the southern half of the *prakāra* adjoins the Jñānasambandar shrine while the nave on the northern side abuts the *Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* or the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* as it is now known. There is a Navagraha shrine and Sattaiyappar shrine within this nave. Sattaiyappar seems to be the guardian deity or one of the *Kṣhetrapālas* of the temple and the keys are left in his charge every night after the temple services are over for the day. This custom is still observed by the authorities.

At the entrance through the *Sannadī Gopura* are two gigantic *dhvajastambhas* which are stated to be the biggest of their kind in the

Madurai Temple. These are not grotesque like most *dūrāpālakas* but are thoroughly dignified. These are four-handed figures, the two upper hands holding *śāṭa* and *pāṣa* while one of the fore arms rests on the *gada* and the other is held in the *nai* or *vidhaya* pose.

The *Kambattadi Mandapa* was built by Kṛṣṇa Virappa Nāyaka (1572-1595 A.D.) according to *Tiruppani Vēṇam*¹, the *Tiruppanimol*², the *Sūttā*³, the *Dahavāy Agrahāram* plates⁴, the *Veḷḷaṅkudi* plates⁵, the *Padmaneri* grant⁶, and an inscription dated S. 1505 (1594 A.D.)⁷ on one of the pillars in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. The *Madurai District Gazetteer* mentions that the *Nanda Mandapa* was built by Nāḍikēṇṇi Chettar in the seventeenth⁸ Cent. in his Report published in 1884 A.D.⁹, writes that the flooring of the *prākāra* was removed in 1879 as a result of the collapse of the columns. This discovery of the many historic pillars erected by the Setas in 1879 A.D. It is worth noting that even as late as 1870 A.D. some carving was a live art and that the craftsman maintained a high standard.

THE MANDAPA NAYAKA MANDAPA. This *mandapa* is in the north-east corner of the Svāmī Sannidhi second *prākāra* and faces south. It is also called the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa*. It is

1. The *Tiruppani Vēṇam* No. 20 gives the date of construction as S. 1434 (1572 A.D.).

2. The *Tiruppanimol*, verse 52 says the *mandapa* was built by Kṛṣṇa Virappa of Kāṭṭi. Verse 54 says he built the *Virappa Mandapa* before the *Kodikkamban*. It is not clear whether this refers to any separate *mandapa*. Most probably it is a reference to the *Kambattadi Mandapa* itself.

3. The *Sūttā* states that the Svāmī second *prākāra* east side upto *Tingāṇṇa sambāṇḍi Mandapa* was built by Kṛṣṇa Virappa.

4. E.I. Vol. XII p. 159 ff. The plates state that Virabhadra built a *mandapa* of carved pillars in the front of the shrine of Sundara Nāyaka.

5. M.E.R. 9 of Appendix A. 1912. E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 298 ff.

6. M.E.R. 14 of Appendix A. 1906. E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 287 ff.

7. M.E.R. 35 of 1908. The record is in Telugu with a Tamil copy below. It records that in S. 1505 (1594) Virappa, the son of Vuvanaṭha Nāyaka Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka built the *mandapa*.

8. Page 276.

9. *Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the Year 1883-84.*

on a high platform to which steps lead from the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. It is a seven-aisled *mandapa*, at the end of which is Sabhāpathi temple which is built over a low *adhishthāna*. The Sabhāpathi temple has a large idol of Nataraja well carved in stone. In front of the shrine is a small four-pillared *mandapa*. The four pillars are of black polished stone and the base of the *mandapa* is supported by *aśṭagajas*. As usual images of Patanjali and Vyāghrapāda are found on this shrine also. The *mandapa* with its well-spaced pillars has a reputation as one of the most beautiful in the temple. There is a frieze over the lintel at the entrance to the shrine and a small carved figures relate to the legend of Mavākshi's marriage. The *Tiruppani Vīraṃ* (No. 9) credits Cinnappan with building the *mandapa* about the year S. 1448 (1526 A.D.). The *Tiruppanmōlai* adds that Maḍaya Cinnappa was from Gooty (Guttu).

JNANASAMBANDAR TEMPLE : The southern end of the *Kambattadi Mandapa* leads to the Jnanasambandar shrine which is situated on the platform of the *prākāra*. Two elephants nearly five feet high flank the short flight of steps leading to the shrine. This *mandapa* is stated to have been built by Kṛṣṇa Virappa Nāyaka about S. 1494 (1572 A.D.),¹ and it is perhaps his statue and that of his minister or son that one finds on two pillars on either side of the entrance. The pillars of this *mandapa* are now blocked up by a wall with modern windows and doors but it could easily be seen that the *mandapa* at one time must have been an open one.

(ii) *Kilikattu Mandapa*

The *Kilikattu Mandapa* which is west of the Golden Lily Tank leads to the sanctum of the Amman shrine just as the *Kambattadi Mandapa* leads to the Svāmī sanctum. The *Kilikattu Mandapa* may be said to be the most ornamental of the *mandapas*. It is a single corridor with richly carved pillars on two sides. There are ten statues. These are the five Pāndavas, Śiva as hunter, Durgam, Puruṣaṃrita, Vāli and Sugriva. Between

1. Verse 37. Verse 90 gives an elaborate description of the *mandapa* and says that it was built by Tiruppokkan, the son of Puvanaṣṭhamunivan.

2. *Tiruppani Vīraṃ* No. 25.

some of these pillars are pillars with the usual *yali* motif. Two fine sculptures of *dogrupālakas* are at the entrance to the sanctum from this *mandapa*. These have two hands only and the workmanship appears to be earlier than those of *Kambattadi Mandapa*. The *Kilikatti Mandapa* is also known as the *Panca Pāndava Mandapa*, the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* or the *Kottaimuthu Mandapa*. Each of these names has its own reasoning. From the *Tiruppanmōlai*¹ it may be inferred that the *mandapa* was built by Tiruvembare Setti, the son of Sērāmalai Sevvandi Murti Setti, and that it was called *Murti Mandapa*, evidently after the name of his father. The *mandapa* was also known as *Sangili Mandapa*² on account of the *tangil kōṭṭilam* performed here. Though the *mandapa* is sometimes referred to as the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* in the present day the *Tiruppan Viṭṭam* [No. 18,³ and *Tiruppanmōlai*⁴ refer to the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* as having been built to the south of the *Sangili Mandapa* by Tannappa Navika, one of the Vijayanagara viceroys. So the *Purushāmriga Mandapa* was a structure to be an independent structure though it is not possible to identify it today. Quite likely it occupied the site on which the present *Mutharai Mandapa* stands, as the *Tiruppanmōlai*⁵ adds that the *Purushāmriga Mandapa*, the *Gandur Gandan Kuradu* and the *Gandar Gandan Toppu* (garden), were built by Tannappa Navika. The *Gandar Gandan Kuradu* is said to be the high platform in front of the Visvanatha shrine west of *Mutharai Mandapa*. The *Gandar Gandan Toppu* is apparently a reference to the garden just behind the present Visvanatha shrine.

The pillars and the ceiling of the *Kilikatti Mandapa* are painted in brilliant colours. The ceiling paintings are a complete gallery of *Vaishṇava* iconography and refer to the various forms of *Sūbrahṇya*.

1. Verse 33.

2. The *Tiruppan Viṭṭam* No. 4 says that the *Amman Sannidhi Sangili Mandapa* was built by Tiruvembare Setti in S. 1484 (1562 A.D.).

3. The date is given as S. 1486 (1564 A.D.).

4. Verse 5.

5. Verse 25.

Ganesa, Devi etc. There is a story current that the pillars of this *mandapa* were originally in the Kariyamānikka Perumāl temple from where they were removed to this place. This story is perhaps based on the statements in the *Sritala*. The *Sritala* says in one place that Abhinēka Panamaram took down the front *mandapa* of the Kariyamānikka Perumāl temple and re-erected it as the *Sangiti Mandapa* in front of the Amman shrine. The *Sritala* after enumerating the *śrappams* gone till S. 1660 (738 A.D.), continues with a statement which is unfortunately damaged and incomplete. It says that "Sivana (—, built the Am — *Sangiti Mandapa* after systematically taking down the Kariyamānikka Perumāl temple —, *dupam*". These are rather incomplete and broken statements and unless they can be corroborated by other sources one cannot vouchsafe for the story. Goan in his report⁴ says that the east wall abutting the Minākshi shrine on the wall is covered with inscriptions which could be read but which is completely whitewashed. The presence of red sandstone pieces shows that this is an early wall.

(iii) Thousand Pillar Mandapa

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* is a huge edifice located in the north-east corner of the Ad. Street wall. Its north and east side close to the outer walls of the temple. It occupies an area of 240 feet by 250 feet. The *mandapa* faces south and its entrance on that side leads to a long central nave with two rows of pillars on either side of it. The east and west wings of the *mandapa* are fully filled with rows of pillars of which there are 985 in the *mandapa*. The central nave leads to a *Sabbāpathi* shrine which is over two stages of platforms. The shrine contains a large image of Nataraja showing him dancing on top of a large *karma Pitha*. 24 pillars flank the approaches of the shrine. The shrine wall is a modern fixture and very likely the shrine was not enclosed by walls in earlier times.

There is a beautiful *linga* shrine on the eastern wing with finely worked details on its structural members. The *jaladizāra* especially is a finely sculptured piece showing two mythical beasts

1. Major Goan: *Preservation of National Monuments—India*, Para 18.

The shrine is in disuse and probably has remained so for years past. It houses a *linga* and a goddess whose image lies broken.

The pillars in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* are beautifully sculptured with iconographic figures. The sculpturing is in a class by itself and one could easily notice the difference between them and the other sculptures elsewhere in the temple. They reveal a wonderful sense of form and line. The group of figures on two rows of pillars at the entrance are each one a masterpiece by itself. The carvings on the first row of pillars are Angam Vettala Siva, Kainappari, Kakkāmaruti, Arvanātha Mudali, Hansachandri, Chandranattu, Kurutti, and Kuravon. On the second row of pillars are the following: Padma Raja, Tripurārti Ganesa, *dvāpārukas* Subrahmanya, Nāgarāja, and Sarasvati. On the central row of pillars are other fine sculptures of which the following are worth mentioning: Kali, Jagapati, Vedan, Rat, Minmata, Aglora Virabhadra, Molini, and Bikhāranar. On some of the plain pillars number of legendary and iconographic figures in low relief are carved on the faces.

The compound pillars have bracketed gryphons and corbels extending from the main shaft. This combination of bracketed beam is architecturally well composed and is a good example of pillars with foliated brackets spreading out like a tree. The base of the *mandapa* on the western side has a frieze of panels depicting scenes from the legends in low relief.

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* is reported to have been built by Ariyanātha Mudali,¹ the great general and minister of the first four Nāyaka rulers of Madurai. An equestrian statue of Ariyanātha Mudali on one of the front pillars. The *Tiruppani Varam* (No. 26) and the *Tiruppanmōlai*² state that the *mandapa* was built by Krishna Virappa Nāyaka and the former gives the date as 1572 A.D. The *mandapa* was evidently built by Ariyanātha Mudali during the reign of Krishna Virappa Nāyaka.

1. Taylor: *Oriental Manuscript*, Vol II, p. 116. *Sritala*.

2. Verse 54.

(16) *Padu Mandapa*

One of the most published edifices in the Madurai temple is the *Padu Mandapa* built by Tirumala Nayaka¹ between 1626 and 1633 A.D. This is a large corridor measuring 330 feet by 105 feet and is axially in front of the east *gopura*. Along the length of it is a central nave with an aisle on either side of it provided by four rows of pillars. The *mandapa* belongs to the Madurai period of architecture and has all the four styles of pillars, the decorative type, the *yāli* type, the iconographic type and the plain type pillars. The wide *mandapa* is the big watermark of the Vijayanagara style. At the western end, that is at the end next to the east *gopura* is a platform with a canopy supported by a row of polished black stone pillars. This canopied *mandapa* is known as the *Vasanti Mandapa* to which the images of Muruga and Sundareshwara are brought on certain festival occasions. Five pillars on either side of the platform from Visvanatha to Tirumala Nāyaka are five pillars on either side in the centre of the nave. Equestrian and *yāli* pillars are on the outer pillars at the entrance of the east and west side. These areas have also many pillars with iconographic figures the details of which are given in the section on iconographic sculptures (Chapter X, Section c). The whole corridor is a very imposing structure revealing very good planning and excellent execution.

(17) *Ashtasakti Mandapa*

One of the most beautiful entrances to the Madurai temple is the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* which is axially in a line with the Murugeshwara shrine. This *mandapa* is actually the main entrance to the temple in the present day. Its frontage is formed of a high portal with a high tower over it and two smaller towers on either side of the main tower. Two stucco figures of Ganesa and Shiva are on the upper level on the side walls. Photographs taken a hundred years back do not show these stucco figures. These and other changes in the stucco decorations have been made within the last hundred years.

1. *Tiruppanmōlai*, verse 80; *Srīdhā.*

Proceeding inside one finds a colonnade of two rows of pillars over which is an arched roof. The front row of pillars have the figures of the eight Ashtasaktis at intervals. The *mandapa* is named On to it of the second row of pillars on either side there are four statues of Nāvaka rulers. Behind this second row of pillars are shops dealing in a variety of articles. Panels of 1100 figures with painted backgrounds are now in the clerestory that was once below the arched roof. The ceiling of the roof is decorated with floral designs or crossing five *yantras* or signs peculiar to Deva. At the western end are two fine stone figures of Malā Garapa and Śaṅkumukha and these perhaps served as the model for the stone figures on the front wall at the entrance. The *Śrīdhā* states that the *Ashtasakti Mandapa*¹ was built by a chamber maid of Radrappā, a lady of Tirumala Nāyaka's harem.

(c) Minor Mandapas

Among the lesser known *mandapas* are the Vira Vasantarāja Mandapa, the Minākshi Nāvaka Mandapa, and the Madali Mandapa. The Vira Vasantarāja Mandapa is immediately to the west of the east *gopura* and is almost as long as the *Padu Mandapa* which is on the other side of the east *gopura*. The Vira Vasantarāja Mandapa has a long central nave and an aisle on each side of it and its tall and slender compound pillars which are variously patterned support a high vaulting which is roofed with long slabs. At the entrance to the *mandapa* on the eastern side are the figures of Rudra, Rudrakālī, Kālīge², and Kālaharamūrti sculptured on pillars. On the ceiling is a large carved panel with dancing gures and lotus medallions. According to the *Tiruppani Vāraṇam* (No. 32, Muttu Vārappa, the brother of Tirumala Nāyaka³, is reported to have built this *mandapa* in S. 1333, 1611 A.D.,

THE MINAKSHI NAYAKA MANDAPA The Minākshi Nāvaka Mandapa which leads to the Annaman shrine is between the *Gūṭra Gopura* and the *Ashtasakti Mandapa*. It has six rows of pillars forming a central nave and two aisles on either side. The central nave

¹ The *Tiruppanmōḍi* (p. 83) calls this *mandapa* as the "Tol Annāl Arai".

² *Tiruppanmōḍi* = 75 and the *Jināla* also mention Muttu Vārappa as the builder of this *mandapa*.

is more than 20 feet broad. The pillars are of the square compound type as in other structures in Madurai with a bracketed capital above composed of lions and Madurai corbels with connecting beams. The pillar shafts have delicately carved floral designs. At the western end is a huge *prabhā*. The present *prabhā* is a modern one which replaced an older one said to have been donated by Samuṅgam Mānāḷkshi Navakar, son of Tiruvenkadam¹. At the entrance to the *mandapa* on the east are two figures of a Vedan and his wife carved on two pillars. They probably represent Isvara and His Devi in this form. The two figures are almost in a similar attitude and are well sculptured with less idealism in their features. On one of the pillars in the central nave is a diminutive figure of Mīṅḱshī Amman as she was before she met her future consort Sundaresvara in the course of her *digniyā*. It is not a very good piece of work but it gets interest as a representation of Mīṅḱshī in this form within the temple itself. There is, however, a large sculpture of this in the *Pudu Mandapa*. The ceiling of the central nave has a large carving of a *vāsi chakra*. It is generally thought that Mīnāḱshī Nayaka², one of the minister of Tirumalaī Nayaka, built this *mandapa*.

MUDALI PILLAI MANDAPA. *Mudali Pillai Mandapa* which lies between the *Chitra Gopura* and the north-east corner of the Golden Lily Tank is popularly known as the Dark *Mandapa* for it is enclosed by walls and very little light reaches it. It contains six sculptured pillars of which five relate to the Bhikṣhāṣṭana Mohana legend and the sixth pillar has a portrait of the donor probably.

The *Tiruppani Vāraṁ* (No 39,³ and *Tiruppanimōlai*⁴ refer to one Kadandai Mudali, (who is the same as the Kālatayappa Mudali referred to in *Srīṭīla*⁵, as the builder and who is also stated to have erected the *Chitra Gopura*.

1. *Tiruppani Vāraṁ*, No. 34.

2. *Tiruppani Vāraṁ* (No. 34) states that the *mandapa* was built in S 1630 (1708 A.D.). The *Tiruppanimōlai* and the *Srīṭīla* also say that Samuṅgam Mīnāḱshī Nayaka was the builder.

3. The date of construction is given as S 1535 (1613 A.D.).

4. Verse 62.

5. The *Srīṭīla* also refers to him as Sāmāṅgam Mudaliyappan.

THE SERVAIKAR MANDAPA: *Mattarāma Aiyar Mandapa*, *Kalyāṇasundara Madaliyar Mandapa* and *Subbarayar Mandapa* are a group of medium structures close to one another in the court between the *Vira Vasanarayana Mandapa* and the *Minakshi Nāvaka Mandapa*. Though these do not look as opulent as the larger *mandapas*, they have a singular grace of their own with their tall and slender pillars and simple corbels. The bracketed corbel especially of the *Servaiḥkar Mandapa*, is worth noting. It is so unlike the heavy massive corbels of the other *mandapas* that the difference strikes one immediately.

Three *mandapas* in the *Ādi Street* corners, for instance the *Ārunāta Madan¹ mandapa* in the south-east corner built in S. 168¹ 1760 A.D., the *Tammacci Nāyaka mandapa* in the south-west² and the *Tattu Sattu mandapa* in the north-east by *Venkaṭesvara Madali³* are worth mentioning. Further details about these structures are not known.

The earliest among these small *mandapas* appears to be what is now called *Pecciakkāl Mandapa* which is in front of the *Gopura Nāyaka Gopura*. According to the *Śrītilā* this was built by *Pecciyakka*, a woman who supplied dairy products to the temple and who financed *Pittu Sekka Pandaram* for this purpose. According to the *Tiruppan Vīraṇam* (No. 30, the date of its construction would be about S. 1580 (1658 A.D.).

THE KALYANA MANDAPA The *Kalyāṇa Mandapa* abuts the eastern wall of the *Svām. Sannidhi* second *prākāra*. It was originally an open *mazdata*, but at present it is enclosed by walls on all sides except the east. It has isolated arches. The side walls of the north and south carry two huge paintings of the "Two Worlds" according to Hindu cosmology. In the centre of the *mandapa* is a large platform with polished black stone pillars and a canopy fully covered with wood carvings of a very high order. The *mandapa*

1. *Tiruppan Vīraṇam* No. 46 says that it was built by Marudappa Servaiḥkar.

2. *Tiruppan Vīraṇam* No. 36; *Tiruppanmāla* verse 105.

3. *Tiruppan Vīraṇam* No. 37 gives the date S 1680 (1758 A.D.).

4. *Ibid.* (No. 32) says that it was built in S 1694 (1772 A.D.). Fergusson also says that the *Tattu Suddhi* was built in 1770 A.D. (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 392).

is reputed to have been built by Vijayaranga Chokkanātha Nāvaka's whose crinely sculptured statue is on a pillar in front of the plot facing the temple. The important festival relating to Minākshi Sundareswara's marriage takes place here annually. A stone relief of Gaurāṅdhārā is on the other side walls and is reported to have been brought here from the *Anakkul Mandapa*. A timbered hall has been erected in front of this *mandapa* is the Natukkottai Gethiaras in recent years. This hall with its inner roofing and beautifully wrought wooden beams is the only structure of its kind in the whole of the temple and is a good specimen of modern craftsmanship.

ANNAKKULI MANDAPA Scattered about in the environs of the temple are a number of *mandapas* and shrines. The *Anakkul Mandapa* which is just west of the west *gopura* is the most attractive of these. This *mandapa* is actually a series of four *mandapas* one behind the other. There are four large stone elephants at the entrance. These are similar to the two elephants in front of the Jñānasambandar temple in the Svāmī Sannidhi second *prākāra*. A modern wall has been put up between the pillars on the front of this *mandapa*. At present the *mandapa* houses an elementary school. The third *mandapa* behind has four *yali* pillars. The *yalis* are short and stout and similar to those on some of the pillars in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. On the central pillars on the northern and southern sides are two figures of Brahmā and Vishnu. Between these pillars is a long platform of black polished stone while in the north-east corner is another small platform.

In the fourth or last *mandapa* are eight beautifully carved monolithic compound pillars. On the southern side from east to west are the figures of a *cow* bearer, Pāṇḍya king Vyagrhapāda and Brahmā. On the northern side similarly from east to west are a queen, king, Patanjali and Vishnu. This assemblage leaves one in no doubt that the *mandapa* had some important part to play with the legend of Minākshi-Sundaresvarar's marriage. It is known that Vishnu gave away the bride on the occasion and that Brahmā performed the marriage *homa*, that

1. Sridāsa, *The Tiruppaṭi Vēdam* (No. 35) says that it was built in S. 1633 (1711 A.D.), gives the date as 1707 A.D. *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture* Vol. I, p. 392.

Paranjali and Vyāghrapāda who attended the wedding were the principal personages for whose benefit Siva once again performed the *Ānanda Tandava* as at Chidambaram in the *Rajata Sabha* in the temple. The two figures who look like a king and queen are perhaps Haimya and Menaka, the parents of the goddess. The figure of the Pandya king is probably that of Sridatavasa himself. The *carni* bearer who is on the pillar facing that of the queen is perhaps the queen's attendant.

None of the sculptures are visible only from the waist upwards as the part below is filled with sand. It is a pity that such beautiful work should be hidden in this manner. The sculptures have a distinct character of their own and there is nothing corresponding to their style in the Madurai temple. They are probably the work of one master. The characterisation and the modelling of the figures are admirable. The costume and jewellery are well handled without over-emphasis. One peculiarity that strikes an observer is that the figures do not look Tamilian as earlier sculptures or Telugu as the later Nāyaka sculptures. They have a personality of their own which one must say is the gift of the craftsman who created them. The simple coiffure and diaphanous drapery of the *carni* bearer contrast very well with the bejewelled head and rich garments of the queen who stands opposite to her. The manner in which the gossamer substance of the *carni* bearer's saree is rendered is astonishing. All the figures and especially Vyāghrapāda and Paranjali look happy and pleased as they had every reason to be on the festive occasion for which they had all gathered as guests.

The figure of the Pandya king is similar to those of the same figure on the *Pāṇḍiya Paditturai* of the Golden Lily Tank and to another figure in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The headgear and the necklaces are almost similar to all these figures. Also one finds that in all these three sculptures the right hand holds a *vaṁśa* (rod). This may be the legendary Pāṇḍya king who is reputed to have built the original temple. Excepting the figures of the gods, Brahmā and Vishnu, Pāṇḍya rāja and the attendant *carni* bearer, all the other figures have *anjali hastas*. Most of the figures are mutilated in parts of their limbs.

According to the *Thrippavimalai*¹ Chelappan alias Tiruviraai Mānakkam is reputed to have built this *mandapa* in about 1563 A.D. As there are four *mandapas* here, it is not known which of these is referred to.

NAGARA MANDAPA: Facing the *Ashṭasakṭi Mandapa* is the *Nagara Mandapa* or *Acarya Mandapa* which Kāṇṇan Acaryarayan, a minister of Mangammāl, is stated to have built.² This *mandapa* which was used for storing the *vāḥanas*, *Chakras* and a three-headed statue of Rāṇa Mangammāl with her grandchild son as to the one in Tirupparākkurram, one of the pillars near the entrance.

B. TEMPLE ORNAMENTATION

The Hindu temple has to be embellished with ornamentation on almost every part of it as prescribed in the *Silpa Sāstras*. The temple is thus a complete utilitarian, sacred, ceremonial, social and artistic beauty. According to these *rāstras* the bases, walls, superstructures, doorways and ceilings of *gopurats* and *garbhagṛhas* have to be ornamented each with a particular type of decoration. The various mouldings of the *upapīṭha* and *adhṣthāna*, the pillars, pillars *kambapancaras* and *dhavakoshtas* on the wall surfaces, the *karnā-kudus*, *pancarams*³ and *sāmas* on the superstructure and finally the *vimāna* and its *śūpṭas* are fully described in the *Sāstras* for the various classes of temple structures. "The Hindu builders never contemplated with satisfaction a building which is divorced from ornament and ornament enters into the very essence of composition."⁴ From these one could understand what a large part ornament plays in temple construction. While the general method of temple construction has remained almost the same, the style of its ornamentation has undergone some evolutionary changes in the different periods. A study of the important part that the different styles of ornament have played in the evolution of Dravidian architecture is necessary for dating of the buildings. "The history of the architecture of Southern India reduces itself to the history of ornamentation."⁵

1. Verse 16.

2. *Thrippavimalai*, Verse 96; *Sriśāla*.

3. N. V. Mallaya Tondar; *commentary*, p. 177.

4. J. Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, Eng. Trans. Dr. S. K. Iyengar.

The Hindu temple was not a display of constructional methods. While these were kept in mind they were subordinated to the final appearance of the outer surface as laid down in the *gairas*. This does not mean that the Hindus were not architects. Sculpture was never thought of as a mural decoration but as an integral part of the wall itself, in high or low relief, in accordance with the architectural line without ever damaging it.¹

The Madurai temple is an outstanding example of Dravidian architecture as it reached its climax. This vast mass of structures *mandapas*, corridors, and *gopuram* is fully ornamented, the decorations sometimes being in such abundance that no part of the architectural surface underneath is visible. "The great Hindu pagoda with its picturesque gateways and pillared halls produces a grand effect whilst the deeply carved sculptures carved into strong relief by brilliant sunlight are unsurpassed for variety and elaboration."²

Next to its tall *gopuram* the most interesting feature of the Madurai temple are the pillars of which there are literally thousands. These pillars could be classified into four broad divisions, namely a simple cubical pillar with or without an attached column, cubical pillars with *yalis* or horses substituted in place of the attached column; pillars with iconographic or mythological sculptures, and lastly pillars with portrait statues.³ The compound cubical pillar is fully ornamented exhibiting a high degree of creative design. The *yali* pillars reveal the most fantastic creations. The iconographic sculptures are a synthesis of art and religion, of legend and philosophy while the portrait sculptures show the Indian craftsman's power of characterisation.

WOOD CARVINGS The numerous *yali* sculptured stone pillars of the Madurai temple exhibit the patience and skill expended

1. Rambach and Goel: *The Golden Age of Indian Art* p. 21.

2. Major Cole: *Presentation of National Museum—India*.

3. The plain or composite pillars are erected at different points describing the structures or *mandapas*. The pillars with iconographic or mythological figures, are described in the notes relating to *Kambattudi*, the Thousand Pillar and the *Pada mandapas*. Pillars with portrait statues are dealt with in the section on Portrait Sculptures.

on these intricately carved and highly finished monolithic piers. They have won praise even from hostile critics, but it is not so well known that the Madurai temple contains some fine specimens of wood carvings most of which survive at present only on a few doors of different *gopuras* and in a solitary *mandapa*. Owing to the nature of the material many specimens of wood carving that must have existed once must have perished and lost for ever. One great piece of wood carving fortunately still exists and this is the door of the eastern *gopura*. Only one leaf of this huge door is now in its place. The other leaf is kept in an adjoining chamber access to which is not easy. This huge door is in a rather decayed state. However, one could see how glorious it must have looked in its original state when it was freshly covered and painted. It would be desirable that this old specimen of wood carved and its companion piece could be safeguarded from the ravages of weather and decay before it is entirely lost to posterity.

The Amman Sannidhi *gopura* has its two doors richly carved and ornamented and most of these carvings are in a better state of preservation. The cross battens are carved with scroll work with ornamental nails fixed at the crossing points. The panels within the framework have carved figures in high relief. These figures appear to have been carved separately and inserted in their places in the door afterwards. Two small ornamental piers, also carved in wood, are inserted on either side of each figure. This was perhaps done to prevent the carved panel from falling out. However, it gives the whole an appearance of a *mandapa* with the idol or other figure in its centre. There are 66 panels but six panels on the wicket door are plain. Perhaps the wicket door itself is a late addition.

A similar specimen to that of the Amman Sannidhi *gopura* door could be seen at the *Nadu Kattu Gopura* just to the north of it. This door has 72 panels and the carvings on the battens and the panels are in the same manner as those of the Amman Sannidhi door.

One of the chambers in the *Kadaka Gopura* has a smaller door which is very richly carved and ornamented. Its battens carry an all-over pattern and its nails are well finished. The panels are

filled with carvings of lotuses which, however, differ from one another in small details, a fact which could be noticed only if one looks for it. Otherwise the flowers appear to be all alike. This door, owing to its secluded location, is in a very good state of preservation.

The *Kalyāṇa Mandapa* in the Madurai temple has a canopy which is the delight of wood carvers. Although modern, it can hold its own with any older specimen. Its multi-foliated eaves, its richly carved and panelled beams, its beautiful lotuses with central pendants and its carved wooden panels require numerous examinations before one could see and appreciate all the wealth of detail. It has been put into this diminutive structure. The structural form of its ceiling recalls the stone work of the *Kūṭakatti Mandapa* and shows that in India the stone mason and the wood carver drew their inspiration from each other.

The *Kalyāṇa Mandapa* has another specimen of wood craft. In front of its old *mandapa* a new hall with a nave and an aisle on each side with timber roofing has been erected in recent years by Nāttukottai Sethis.

CEILINGS: Temple ceilings are usually painted with iconographic or legendary subjects as in the *Kūṭakatti Mandapa* or with ornamental motifs as in the *Chitra Mandapa* round the Golden Lily Tank, but the stone ceilings in some of the *mandapas* have carved paintings. These are not executed just for decorative purposes but to follow certain canons of the *Silpa Sāstras*. Most of these are known as *Rāśi Chakras* and have the twelve signs of the Hindu zodiac. Many such *chakras* are to be seen on the ceilings in the Madurai temple. In the *Pudū Mandapa* itself three such large carvings could be seen in the central nave. One of these is in the middle of the opposite *Pinnakala Nāyaka's* statue. It shows a personified zodiac square with the *Brahmasthanam* occupying the center square with five squares. The eight *dikpāṭas*, *aṣṭanāḍas* and *aṣṭarāśis* occupy the twenty-four squares surrounding the *Brahmasthanam*. The *Brahmasthanam* has a large figure carved on it, but so far it has been possible to identify his figure. The figure is a standing god with a moustache and protruding breasts. He has *paṭṭapāṭa* and *maṇḍita* and is seated with feet touching each other and the hands resting on his thighs. On his body are carved several mystic *varṇas* and *śrī* signs.

Thus over the feet is a *linga* and in the abdomen is a segment with another *linga* and over that a triangle with a *linga*. Above the triangle is a *kutkora* with a dancing Natarāja. On the forehead is another *linga*. Surya and Chandra each carved in a medallion are on the two sides of the head. Above Surya and Chandra are two heavenly fish—each riding a cloud. Between the head and the outer row of squares is a longish panel dating evidently the Madurai legend, for it shows the *Āṇḍāy* snake with Minākshi Anuman on the left, Lord Sundaresvara in a shrine supported by the *aṣṭagajās* in the centre and the *kāṭamba* tree on the right. The area round this big panel is in a finished state. It is a border representing a river or water course with many kinds of fishes, crabs, shells and coconuts. The western side is partly carved but the other side is only in preliminary drawing for purposes of carving.

As this panel could be seen on the ceiling of the *Āsthāna Mandapa* of the Tirappattankutram temple. It shows that the plot is divided into six vertical squares, the *Brahmachānam* occupying the four squares. The two *tyāga*, surrounding squares are filled with carvings of various animals. The centre panel representing the *Brahmachānam* is almost identical with that in the *Pudu Mandapa*.

The *Minākṣi Nāyaka Mandapa* has a more decoratively carved *Rasi Chakra* panel. The border squares have the signs of the zodiac carved in them. The centre contains a beautifully carved seated Diviṅga with a *paṇa* in a lotus medallion. A similarly carved *Rasi Chakra* but with a carving of a seated figure as in the *Pudu Mandapa* is in the *Muthurama Aiyar Mandapa*. These two panels are smaller in size.

In the *Paṇḍitaśāstrīya Mandapa* is a panel of nine squares, the eight outer squares each containing a dancing figure. All these figures form one group of *koṭṭam* dancers and the carvings show good work. Unfortunately the carvings are rather mutilated and damaged. It is a pity that electric wiring and pendant hooks have been used indiscriminately on many of these ceiling panels without any regard to their beauty or their importance.

The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* contains a large carving of forty-four panels which contain not only the zodiacal signs but

also many representations of gods and goddesses and of some important legends, like that of Kannappan, Mānikavāśaka Sambandar and Siddhar. A numbered key drawing is attached which would make the location of the panels easy.

An exquisite piece of stone carving is found in the Kūdal Alagar temple at Madurai. It is a pierced stone window of star-shaped creeper with flower buds, human figures and animals filling the inner spaces. The whole of this foliated motif starts from a base on which Krishna and His two consorts are carved with great care and attention even to minute details. The work on such a small scale is really to be admired.

PAINTINGS. The Madurai temple cannot boast of any old frescoes as it does contain quite a large collection of paintings of a legendary or decorative character which are very interesting and picturesque provided one does not mind their age or their artistic merits. As the temple centres round the 64 Isas of Sundaresvara it is but natural that one finds wherever one turns some illustration or other of the legends of the *Tiruvālyōdal Purāṇa*. In stuccos on the *gopurams*, in sculptures on the pillars and in paintings on the walls, the mason, the sculptor and the painter have vied with one another in depicting the Lord's *līlas*.

The paintings on the walls of the *Chitra Mandapa* round the Golden Lily Tank have won wide fame from remote times. These panels completely illustrate all the *līlas* of Sundaresvara as narrated in the *Tiruvālyōdal Purāṇa*. As each *līla* is depicted in detail one can follow the story step by step almost like a cinematographic film. The paintings which one sees today are very recent work having been done about the beginning of this century. They are painted on wooden panels which are fixed to the walls. The older paintings were done directly on the walls in the usual tempera colours but even these paintings were not probably of great age as various authorities have reported that the paintings were renewed frequently. Through chinks in the wooden panels etc. fixed to the older painting on the wall surface still remains and thus the modern wood panel paintings have been fixed over them. It is quite likely if one of these modern panels is removed one may be able to see

the other painting still underneath it. Some of the old photographs probably represent these older paintings but as the photographs are not all correct one could not judge them properly. The whole series of 64 *Itas* are also carved in small wooden panels in the *Kalyana Mandapa*.

Perhaps the oldest fragments of painting existing in the temple are the large panels close to the ceiling on the southern wall of the Svāmī Santhar second *prākāra* near the *Nadukkottu Gopura*. There are only thirteen and a half panels. The rest of the paintings have disappeared. Even these panels that are seen today are in a very bad state with large areas worn out and much of the painted surface spoiled by splashes of white wash. Enough remains to help us to tell and what these paintings represent. The first one and a half panels represent *Minkshi's* marriage and the next panel represents *Sandaresvara* with *Manonmani* and *Minkshi*. Part of the paintings representing the marriage scene is covered over and later figures probably of a *Nāvaka* ruler and his ministers are introduced. The last panel on the right depicts a gathering of women (goddesses) at the wedding ceremony. Part of two figures in the front are covered over with a background colour from their waist down. Two figures wearing *dhori* and turban with *radākūṣa* necklace and armlets are seen with *antahastās* within this framework. They are probably two of the *sthānikas*. That this framework with its background colour and two figures is a later addition could be easily seen as traces of the original painting are visible where the background colour has been left. In the larger panel which shows *Vishnu* giving away the bride to *Loka Sandaresvara*, a similar gathering appears but his group is of men, gods, only. The bottom part of this group from the waist down of the figures is covered by a colour partly red in which two figures are painted. The figure on the extreme left appears to have in his hand a crown. The next figure is *anant* probably represents perhaps the *Nāvaka* ruler himself. The next two figures are in contrast to the period and perhaps represent *Devas* and a minister. The last figure again is perhaps two of another *sthānika*. This scene probably represents a married *man* and a *devy* in the temple where *Pinnala Nāvaka* inaugurated the first of the. A description of the ceremony is given elsewhere. This wall painting shows *Pinnala Nāvaka* himself partici-

parting in the ceremony. If so, one can date this painting from Tirumala Nāyaka's own days, especially as there is no evidence that it has been renewed or restored subsequently. The painting becomes a contemporary record and so is of great value. As this *madisudai* scene is an over-painting on an underlying earlier work, the scene depicting Minākshi's marriage, therefore, must be considered to belong to an earlier period, perhaps of the 15th or 16th century. The style of painting also corresponds to work of that period. The same period should be assigned to the painting of Minākshī and Sundaresvara in the next large panel.

A much snake-laden series of paintings depicting the *Parāya Parāyas* occupies the first *prākāra* of the Arunāci Sānti. These may be as old or a little later than the fragmentary paintings on the southern wall of the Svāmī Sānti. The second *prākāra* has in any case older than the wood panel paintings in the *Čūta Mandapa* in the Golden Lily Tank. One could see medieval *Parāya* sculptures on the wall in the places where these paintings have peeled off.

THE TWO WORLDS. On the north and south walls of the *Kalyāna Mandapa* are two large paintings of the Two Worlds according to Hindu Cosmology. These two carvies which are more or less the same in character are well executed but badly damaged. They are of local origin just as the Pandya Kingdom and the *Mahābhārata* (Pahya hills), are mentioned in this ancient classification of *Bhārata Vṛsha*. A number of identifying names are given, but most of these are worn out and as the painting is high on the wall, was difficult to get much help from these names. It is well known that excavations dealing with this subject are comparatively rare. Other modern nations and religions have their own systems of cosmology which are becoming more and more from technical study. It would be useful if this old painting could be carefully restored and preserved.

The *Ashānakṣi Mandapa* and the *Kākat Mandapa* are well marked paintings which are probably the oldest work representing the *Itihāsa* concept of the Goddess. In the *Ashānakṣi Mandapa* the Goddess is shown in the central *prabhavali* standing to the right of Lord Sundaresvara and Manormaṇi who are seated.

on a *pitha* with *paya dhavva* in front. Below the *prabhāvali* is a *yantra*. The *prabhāvali* is supported by lions. On the right of the *prabhāvali* is Minākshi mounted on a Rishabhā while on the left are Minākshi-Sundaresvara in the aspect of Rishabhārūḍa. In a panel below are *Kōmadhenu*, *Padmanidhi*, *Gajalakshmi*, *Sankkannidhi* and *Cintāmani*. In the arrangement of this *mandapa* are stucco figures showing the birth of Minākshi, her coronation, her rule as queen, her meeting with Sundaresvara, their marriage and their rule, the birth of Ugrapāṇḍya and the investment of Ugrapāṇḍya with weapons. There are some paintings of *yantras* described as *Asvārūḍam*, *Syāmanā*, *Tri-purasundari*, *Vaiṭṭaparumesvari* and *Adigaṇi*.

The painting in the *Kilkaṭṭi Mandapa* shows Minākshi-Sundaresvara seated on a swing within two enclosures which are described as the *Manadvipam* where the *Amala* dwells. On the two side panels there are *Padmanidhi* and *Sankkannidhi*, *Kōmadhenu*, *Kāpuka Vriksha* and *Cintāmani*.

JEWELS The Madurai temple is very rich in jewels used for the God and Goddess on different festival occasions. Some of the pieces date back to Tirumala Nāyaka's time or even earlier, but most of the more ancient jewels have been lost through pillage and plunder during the troublous times of the mediaeval period. Some of the older jewels have of course been renewed or restored from time to time. Variety of *kritas*, collures and chignons, all set with various gems and pearls on a gold backing, delight the eye of the spectator. Pearl and gold *kaporas* are other important items beside the usual head ornaments, *makara kandis*, *padukkam*, necklaces and pearl *kāras*. Jewelled symbols for God and Amman form a major part of the collection¹.

1 Among the jewels is a gem-studded sturup presented by Roux Prier a Collector at Madurai during the early years of the 19th century. Another article which is not a jewel is of some interest is a large silver vase measuring 50 inches high and 24 inches in diameter with an inscription reading: Presented by Messrs. Katz Bros. owners of Sri Menakshi's temple at Madurai. Most of the women in token of the satisfaction and pleasure experienced in doing the merchants of Southern India and in a procession of the name given by them to the temple. An inscription in Tamil is also engraved on the vase.

A large pearl canopy measuring about six feet square is an exquisite specimen of Indian needlecraft. This precious piece of velvet has its large central panel worked entirely in pearls. Surrounding this panel are five borders variously worked in gold and silver threads. The outermost border is a narrow one with a scallop motif. The next border has an embroidered floral creeper design worked in silk thread. The third border has *hamsa* motifs worked in gold and silver threads with outlines in pearls. The fourth border, as lions and winged *kinnaras* with creeper ornament in the intervening spaces. This border is intricately worked in silk and silver threads. The fifth border has the design of parrots worked into a floral design. This border is entirely in pearls. The large centre panel has a lotus medallion in the middle surrounding which is a circle of parrots. The corners are filled with leogryphs and other mythical beasts and figures which are perhaps creations of the artist's fancy. This entire panel is worked in pearls. The designs are so drawn that each enclosing border stands out and the entire canopy presents a very pleasing combination of design and workmanship. This historic and valuable specimen of a not too common Indian craft needs to be preserved more carefully.

VAHANAS As the Madurai temple celebrates one festival or other in all the months of the year there are a large number of *vahanas*, for the God and Goddess. Most of the *vahanas* are silver or gold plated and are large and heavy. Many of them are very good specimens of craftsmanship. The *Rushabha vahanam* of the Madurai temple is a tamed one, but artistically one of the best is the horse *vahana*. The horse is well proportioned and its trappings richly ornamented. The *karnurtha vahanam* which represents the *Gajāsura* legend is a highly conventionalised form ingeniously worked into the shape of the *prabhasani*. The *Bhata vahanam* is another good piece of workmanship very spirited for all its massiveness.

C ICONOGRAPHIC SCULPTURES

The great wealth of iconographic images found in the Madurai temple is helpful for a study of Hindu mythology. It is doubtful whether any other temple in South India has the same multitude of carvings, stuccos, and paintings of gods and goddesses as the Madurai temple possesses. "The one *māṭṭimayā* that has contributed very

largely to the multiplication of images of Śiva is the *Haiāya Mahat-ma* or the one pertaining to God Śiva at Madura, the capital of the Pāndyas¹. It is no wonder then that the Minākshi-Sundaresvara temple and its neighbourhood should be intimately connected with the many Śiva *marthams* of the *āgamas* and of the Śiva *lilas* in the *purānas*. Some particular edifices are well known for the iconographic sculptures on their pillars for instance, the *Kamballadī Mandapa* and the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The *Pudu Mandapa* has iconographic and mythological sculptures as well as portraits of Nāyakas. Many of the *gopurā* contain statues relating to the Śaiva pantheon and *purānas*.

The *Kamballadī Mandapa* being situated just in front of Svāmī Sannidhi and containing as it does the *Nand Mandapa* and the *dhraṣṭhambhar*, naturally has all its sculptures relating only to Śiva *marthams*. Going round the pillars of the *mandapa* in a *pradakṣiṇa* the first one on the pillar on the left is the well-known Minākshi-Sundaresvara marriage group. The sculpturing, though done as late as 1870, is a magnificent piece of Hindu craftsmanship and is in some ways better than a similar sculpture in the *Pudu Mandapa* which, of course, must have been done during Tirumala Nāyaka's days. This scene shows Śiva standing on the right with his right hand just holding Minākshi's right hand while Viṣṇu on the left is pouring the *kannukāḍṇa* water out of a pot. Behind the wedding group is sculptured a beautiful decorative tree. This is perhaps the *karpaga* which is presented to Minākshi by Indra during her *dignīyā*. The expression on the three principal parties to the happy event is most beautifully rendered and one must note especially the shy face of Minākshi which has yet an expressive smile. Below the group is Brahma performing the marriage *homa* while two ladies are busy with the *dīpa* *pāṭras*. Making due allowance for the space limitations on the pillar, one can rise and that the sculpturing follows the *āgama* details closely.

On the same pillar as Tripurāṇi on the southern face, a *devī* on the western face and Somaśaṅkara on the northern face.

1. T. A. S. R. R. S. *Elements of Indian Iconography* Vol. II, p. 400.

TRIPURĀNTAKAMURTI. There are a number of sculptures relating to Tripurāntakamurti in the temple. An identical sculpture like the one in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* just referred to is in the *Padu Mandapa*. Two other forms of Tripurāntaka are in the *Padu Mandapa* and another in the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa* are seen to be seen. The image refers to the destruction by Mālādevya of the three sons of Tārakāsura. Though the story is given in the *Karna Purāṇa* of the *Mahābhārata* it is said to be based on much older accounts in the *Saṃhita* and *Brahmaṇḍa*. No less than eight forms of Tripurāntakamurti are described. The sculpture in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Śiva as driving a chariot. His right foot rests on a part of the chariot and his left leg is planted in the front. Brahmā is the charioteer. Val is the arrow. Agni is its barb, Yama is its feather, the Vedas make the bow and Sāvitrī its bow-string.¹ The *Padu Mandapa* statue is better posed and has more details, its ornamental details are more carefully finished than that in the *Kambattadi* but unfortunately parts of the sculpture are missing. Another beautifully sculpture of Tripurānti is also in the *Padu Mandapa*. Though the image is in the same pose there is no chariot and the Gauri is mounted only on a *pinak*. There is a Ganeśa figure just below the Gauri. As the sculpture is in the *diṅḍiyapa* and a pillar just opposite this image may perhaps be Śiva as He mounts the Gauri. The most beautiful of these Tripurāntakamurtis is the one in the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa* where the figures of Ganeśa and Parvāṭī are. It is one of the most carefully executed sculptures. The whole figure looks on to like a good metal work rather than a stone mass. Its vigour and expression are remarkable. It is full of life. The image of the figure of Viṣṇu very minutely carved in a very fine scale. Looking through the sculpture with the image of the

SOMASUNDARA. The label describes this as Somasundara, but evidently it is Umāsundaramurti. The image of Śiva is in the same form as is described for Sukāśanamurti and the Devi is seated on the lot of the same seat facing Śiva. Her right leg is bent and her left leg hangs over the seat. The Umāsundaramurti on this pillar may perhaps be taken to represent the form in which

¹ T. A. Srinivāsa Rao, *Elements of H. du Iconographie*, Vol. II, pp. 103.

Śiva and Pārvatī gave *darśan* to their devotees after their marriage, which event is also figured on the same pier.

SUKHĀSANA : The next pillar in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* has Sukhāsana, Mārkaṇḍeya and Kālaharamūrti images. The image with a bearded Sukhāsana shows Śiva with the Devi on His left. His front hands are in the *abhaya* and *varada* pose. His back right hand holds what appears to be an *aśṭamūla* while his left back hand holds a *sula*. Śiva's right leg hangs in front of the seat. Devi has two hands. In the right hand she holds a flower, the left hand is placed on the *pitha*. Devi's left leg is hanging over the seat. Also Śiva's left leg is resting on the right leg of the Devi. Perhaps this image is a form of Umāmahesvaramūrti.

KALAHARAMURTI : This image refers to the well-known Mārkaṇḍeya legend when Lord Śiva saved His young and ardent devotee Mārkaṇḍeya from the god of death, Yama. The image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Śiva vanquishing Kāla or Yama. In His back right hand Śiva holds *sula* pointing down, the other right hand holds the axe. His back left hand has the *mrga* and the front left hand has the skull. Śiva's right leg is placed on the *pitha* while the left leg is placed on the neck of Kāla. Mārkaṇḍeya carrying the *śinga* is sculptured on the adjoining face.

NATARAJA : In the third pillar in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is the figure of Śiva as Natarāja. There are Natarāja images in the *Velluvambata Mandapa*, *Mandapa Nāyaka Mandapa* and the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa*. On the wedding day of Minākṣhi-Sundaresvara Śiva is said to have specially danced as Natarāja to give *darśan* to the sages Vvāghrapāda and Pārājali who had come to attend the marriage and who would not take their daily food without having *darśan* of the god at Chidambaram. So Śiva danced for their sake again at Madurai. This shows that after Chidambaram, Madurai is most intimately connected with the dance of Natarāja. While the Natarāja shrine in Madurai temple is known as the Rajata Sabha or Vēḍiyambalam that of Chidambaram is known as Kanakasabhā. "The Sabhā at Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, had a covering of silver. The Cholas might have desired to outdo the Pāṇḍyas in their regard for their family deity and hence covered the Sabhā,

not with silver as the Pāndyas had done but with gold.¹ In the Veṅṛambalam Śiva is shown with the right leg lifted and left leg placed on the *apamāra* but in Chidambaram He is shown dancing with the left leg raised. This latter is the most common form of the image seen in Śaiva temples. The image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* belongs to his popular version. Śiva has a *pūṣpākūṭa*. The back left hand carries *agni* and the front left hand is in the *gūḥya* pose across the body. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the back right hand holds the *damru*. The right leg is placed on *apamāra*, the left leg is lifted up and rests on the head of a *gaurā* which *apamāra* holds in his hand. The image is somewhat stilted owing perhaps to the limitations imposed by the narrow width of the pillar. Pārvatī stands on the left. Below the dancing Natarāja is Nandi with four hands. His front two hands play the drum and his two back hands hold the axe and the deer. On each side of Nandi are two sages, Vyāghrapāda and Parameśvara. On the adjoining face of the pillar is Viṣṇu playing on a *patāka*, a sort of drum perhaps, while Tāmbura and Nārada supply vocal music. The emaciated figure of Kāma may also be seen. On the next adjoining face of the pillar is Brahmā playing on the *śyāmbala*. The frieze carries other sages and gods, who attend the dance. The sculpture of Kāma-Daśanar is on the north face of this pillar.

The fourth pillar in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* has Chandra-sekhara, Lingolībhaya, Rishabhāntika and Rāvanānugraha, etc. The Chandra-sekharamūrti is the form in which Śiva is seen with His consort Pārvatī and is known as Umāśaiva. Chandra-sekhara. The sculpture on this pillar corresponds with the description given in the *āgama*. Śiva and Pārvatī stand in the same postural in the *śamapāda* pose. Śiva's torchhands are in the *abhaya-varada* pose. The back hands hold the *ṭanka* and *mṛga*. The god is fully ornamented with pearl necklaces and *ratnadhāra*s with *padakkas* with *cannavāra* and *udarabandha*. The sculpturing is highly conventionalised and modern.

RISHABHANTIKA This is almost like Rishabhārūḍa with Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the bull. This is perhaps by the same artist who did Chandra-sekhara image as the style is

1 T. A. Gopalan Rao: *Essays of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part 1, p. 230.

almost the same. One peculiarity in this form is that the bull lifts its head up as though looking at the seated Lord. This peculiarity is not explained in the published iconographic texts. It may be only a clever device of the sculptor to get the bull's head out of the way of the Lingodbhava image carved on the same pillar close to this. It may perhaps be a Vishalhavānana image modified to suit the space available on the pillar. In this image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* Śiva has an axe and aeer in His back hands. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose but the front left hand is resting on His thigh. The right leg of Śiva is hanging and the left leg bent on the seat while Pārvatī's right leg is bent and the left leg is hanging. Śiva's right foot is hanging free without the usual support of the conventional torus as seen below Pārvatī's left foot.

LINGODBHAVAMURTI The image of Lingodbhava is invariably found on the western wall of the *garbhagṛha* of Śiva temples. This image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is carved to the right of Rishabhatūka. The *linga* on which the *murti* is carved is almost a square pillar with all straight edges rounded off. The figure of Śiva is carved as usual in these figures as emerging out of the *linga* with the feet hidden within the *linga*.

The *Kambattadi* sculpture closely follows the *āgama* and Śiva is represented in the aspect of Gaṇḍarasekhara. The parts of His leg below the knee are unsculptured. Śiva holds the axe and the aeer in His back hands. The front right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and the left hand rests on the thigh. A swan with Brahmā's neck and arms is carved in low relief on the top part of the *linga*. Viṣṇu with the boar's head is shown burrowing at the feet of the *linga*.

Brahmā stands in *anjali* pose on the right while Viṣṇu in a similar pose is sculptured on the left face of the *linga*. Lingodbhavamurti is historically a old one and is found sculptured in the Kotasavāliśvānu temple and in the Desāvatāra cave at Ertora. At Kalahasti in the Śiva temple, there is a fine old image of Lingodbhava showing Śiva emerging from the pillar of fire with Brahmā flying above and Viṣṇu with a boar's head digging the earth to reach the bottom. Two images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu stand on right and left side of this pillar respectively. The work is perhaps a relic from the 10th century structure.

RAVANANUGRAHAMURTI Two sculptures of the episode of Ravana under Kailāsa are in the Madurai temple. One is in the *Pudu Mandapa* and the other, almost a copy of it, is in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Of the two the *Pudu Mandapa* relief is more finely executed and is the better known work.

The *Pudu Mandapa* sculpture shows Śiva seated on the right with Parvatī on the left as the aspect of Umāśaśamurti. Below their seat is a conventional representation of Kailāsa with many sages praising the Lord while Ravana kneels below with his ten heads and twenty hands, singing Śiva's praise.

The *Kambattadi Mandapa* sculpture is almost similar except for a more coarsely worked *pariśa*. The pose of the front hands of Śiva are also slightly different. While anger and agitation could be seen in the representation of Ravana everything is calm and wonderfully poised on top of Kailāsa where Śiva sits in company with Pārvatī. His consort Ravana under Kailāsa is represented even in earth works as for instance in Ellora where it is a most often repeated subject. The panel in the Dharmarlena cave is the largest and is considered as the most beautiful Ravana in all these earlier specimens is represented as facing the Kailāsa mountain and showing his back to the spectator. His arms are thus grasped round the Kailāsa as though trying to grip it. The latter version showing him as in the *Pudu Mandapa* sculpture gives one the impression that he is supporting the mountain.

The next row of four panels are to the right of the *Aundi Mandapa*. The first panel on this side has the sculptures of Chakralakṣmī, Rāvaṇaśakti, Lakṣmī, Lakṣmī, Sāṅkarāśayana and Ardhanaṛi.

CHAKRADARAMURTI : Chakradāramurti or Vishnu Anugrahāmurti shows Śiva presenting the discs to Vishnu.

VRISHABHAVAHANAMURTI : This is one of the most popular forms in which Śiva is worshipped in South India. The *Kambattadi* sculpture shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the back of the bull. They are represented in the same aspect as that of Umāśaśamurti. Śiva holds the axe and the deer in His back hands while the front hands are in the *abhaya* and *varada*

poses, Śiva's right leg is hanging and the foot rests on a lotus. Pārvatī's left foot rests in a similar manner on a lotus.

EKAPĀDAMURTI: An Ekapādāmurti is sculptured on the same side on which Kṣhābhārata is sculptured in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Another figure of the same image is also sculptured in the *Pudu Mandapa*. There is an important difference between the two representations. The sculpture in the *Pudu Mandapa* as Brahmā issuing from the right side of Śiva and Viṣṇu from the left. Brahmā and Viṣṇu have no legs as represented in some of the earlier sculptures but their front arms are held in *abhaya* pose while their back hands hold their respective symbols. Brahmā is represented with only one head in this sculpture. In the *Kambattadi Mandapa* the Ekapādāmurti shows only Śiva. Brahmā and Viṣṇu are not represented. However, since there are three contiguous shrines, sculptured on the base of the pillar immediately below this figure, it may perhaps be taken as one of the different modes of representing Ekapāda. Figures referred to by T. A. Gopinatha Rao¹.

ARDHANARI: Ardhanārī which is sculptured on the north face of this pillar represents the well-known half-woman half-man form of Śiva. The figure in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Śiva with axe and *abhaya* pose while Pārvatī's hand is hanging down. Thus the figure has three hands. A similar figure in *Pudu Mandapa* shows Pārvatī with two hands with the foot hand hanging down. The *Pudu Mandapa* statue is not only larger than the one in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*, but is more carefully finished.

HARIHARA: This sculpture which is to the left of Ardhanārī in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* represents another popular form of composite image with Śiva on the right half and Viṣṇu on the left half of the figure. The Śiva portion has the attributes of Śiva while the left half has the attributes of Viṣṇu. The right arm of Śiva is in *abhaya* pose and its back arm holds the axe. Viṣṇu has the *chakra* in the left back hand and the *gada* in the left forearm. On a similar statue of Harihara in *Pudu Mandapa* the left forearm of Viṣṇu is held in the *katavaka* pose. The idol is a large one and is most finely executed and is a superb specimen of its kind.

¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part 1, p. 401.

DAKSHINAMURTI On the north face of the pillar is a sculpture of Dakṣiṇāmurti. The image shows Him seated under a banyan tree on Mount Kānasa engaged in yoga. His left leg is placed on his right leg which hangs and is resting on a figure of *apasmāra*. *Rishis* and sages are seen worshipping. The connected story of how Śiva as Maṃma-adīṭharar burnt Kāma who was induced by the *gopas* to tempt Śiva and rout in Him the creative desire is sculptured on the pillar on the opposite side and alongside the Dakṣiṇāmurti image just mentioned. As the *śikhara* dedicated to Dakṣiṇāmurti is on the south wall of the *garbhagrha* of the Śindiresvara shrine. A very old image of Vyākṣāṇa Dakṣiṇāmurti is in the Kalamāṇḍa temple in which Śiva is seated on a rock. Śiva wears a *parābhara*. His front right hand has the *yāni mudra* pose and the back right hand is indistinct as it is worn out. The left hand is in the *varada* pose with a book resting on the palm. The back left hand holds perhaps the fire or a serpent. It is not very distinct. Śiva's right leg is hanging and the left leg is in the *utkatāsana* pose. There are two *āṅgas* on Śiva's shoulder. The figure may be attributed to the late Pallava or early Chola period.

GAJAHARAR : On the next pillar in the east in the *Kambuttadi Mandapa* is the sculpture of Gajaharar. There are two figures of Gajaharar in the Madurai temple, one in the *Kambuttadi Mandapa* and another in the *Padu Mandapa*. Both are almost similar in treatment, though the *Kambuttadi Mandapa* image is more original and newer than the *Padu* suffer from a certain amount of static action. The figure perhaps he due to an attempt to carve a large figure within the narrow width of a pillar. Śiva has eight hands and two back hands hold the side of the elephant. The other three pairs hold the axe, the *sula* and the arrow. The three left hands hold the deer, the kull and the bow. The left leg rests on the elephant's head while the right leg instead of being bent is thrown forward to rest on the elephant's side. Figures of sages are shown in the act of adoration at the base of the image.

The terrified figure of Pārvatī with her child Skanda is carved on a side face of the *Kambuttadi* pillar.

CHANDESANUGRAHAMURTI: The figure of Chandesa-nugrahāmurti is a clipeus based on the story narrated in the *Perry Purāṇam*. The carving in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* shows Siva tying the *umma* (a golden ring) to a Chandesa's head.

BHĪKṢĪTĀNĀI: Coming next in the series of clipeus is a consecration of some important astrographic legend, just as the opposite *menaka* to the pillar has a sculptured panel on *Mitākṣha's* marriage and other important scenes. The Madurai temple has a number of sculptures of Bhikṣātāna of which some of the largest are in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*, the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa*, the *Muddali Mandapa* and the *Swamishrine first prakāra*, etc. to mention the screen figures and niches which are on the *gopura*. The Bhikṣātāna in the *Swamishrine* first *prakāra* is a large sculpture and is under worship. A metal image about three feet high which is also by the side is taken out in procession on occasions. As both these images are in a dark and enclosed cubicle one cannot observe them very clearly, but the best of the Madurai temple Bhikṣātānas is of course the one in the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa*. The sculpturing is very well done and the ornaments and the *jātubandha* are very carefully carved. The figure is more than six feet high. It has four arms the back right arm holds the *damru* and the front right hand rests on the *śaṅkha* the *śaṅkha* is held by the back left hand which is *śūla* which is held across the shoulder. The front left hand holds the *kapāla*. Bhikṣātāna is dressed with a snake which is around him. He has a lion's leg and stands wearing sandals. On Bhikṣātāna's left is a dwarf with a vessel on his head who is *śiva* by the way. The *śiva* is a figure of *Aravaṇa* and other *śiva* palms are carved on the other faces of this pillar. In the *Kambattadi* Mandapa of Bhikṣātāna is a statue next to *Rudra* and the *śiva* is a sculpture of the other example of the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa* is a figure of the work is not of a good order. The figure is a little more or less well modelled. The figure is rather crude. The figure is here in the land and the figure are in a manner in the other sculpture. The figure is in *śiva* palms, however, in the *Kambattadi* version.

RUDRA: The figure of Rudra is carved next to Bhikṣātāna in the *Kambattadi* pillar. The right arms are mutilated. They have been restored in a crude manner with a stucco or cement perhaps. There

is not much action in this sculpture and it is not known what aspect of Rudra the sculpture represents exactly. A flaming *jata* crowns the head and the figure has heavy armlets and bangles. It is heavily ornamented. The following symbols are in the four right hands, the trident, the axe and an arrow with the head of a figure and a sword. The four left hands hold the skull, the deer, the bell and the shield. Rudra stands on a presiding *asura* with His trident piercing the *asura's* neck. In the *Vishu Vasantaraya Mandapa* are two figures of Rudra and Rudrakṣa of which the Rudra sculpture is the most spirited of the two. The *jata* is reared in a very stunted manner as usual in sculptures of this period as may be seen at Tenkasi and elsewhere in this region. The work is very refined and Rudra has not the same fierceness with which he is represented in many of the later works. There is a *linga* in the *jata* usually found in statues of *Vishu Rudra*. This Rudra figure has only four hands of which the front right hand is broken. Perhaps it held a sword as the corresponding hand in the front left hand. The back right hand holds the axe and the back left hand holds the deer. His garlands are richly carved. The lower *avagata* and is strung with beads. The figure of Rudra wears knee ornaments and anklets. Symbols are worn on the feet. Under the feet is a *śakra* figure whose left arm is broken. In the right arm the figure holds a dagger. The point of the broken sword of Rudra is placed along the neck of the face figure.

KIRITARJUNAMURTI : It represents the story in the *Vaṇa-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* which relates how Arjuna obtained permission to obtain from Śiva the *paśupatāstra* to destroy his enemies. The scene in the *Kambattadi* pillar shows Śiva after He had presented to Arjuna who is seen at His right with bow and arrow. The left arm of Śiva are in *abhaya* pose. The Madurai sculpture suffers from *āgamī* descriptions of the figures.

SOMASKANDA : This minor art sculpture is shown in the *śaiva* in the *Kambattadi* Mandapa. Śiva and Pārvatī are shown in the *śaiva* pose with a dancing figure of Skanda as a child between them. Śiva holds the axe and the bow. The *śaiva* pose is in the *śaiva* pose. The front left hand is in the *śaiva* pose. Pārvatī holds a flower in the right hand and a lotus flower in the left hand. Skanda holds a bow in the right hand and a bow in the left hand. The *śaiva* pose is a *śaiva* pose.

A fine old bronze of Somaskanda could be seen at the Tiruvāp-palaiyār temple on the northern bank of the Vaigai. The work follows classic lines and the craftsmanship shows remarkable restraint and economy. The front left hand of Siva is in the same *śmṛṭakarna* pose as the statue in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*.

Immediately after entering the *Kambattadi Mandapa* from the *Gopura Nayaka Gopura*, one finds four huge figures, two on each side, close to the *gopura*. These statues which are nearly eight feet high represent Urdhvar, Kālī, Agnora Varahmatera and Agnora Virabhadra. Urdhvar and Kālī are on the left and the two Varahmateras are on the right as one enters. These sculptures belong to the early Nayaka period and are admirably excellent specimens of monolithic sculptured pillars.

URDHVAR: This sculpture represents one of the dancing forms of Siva. This mode of dancing in which Siva lifted His right leg straight up to the level of His head refers to a contest between Him and Kālī as to who was the better dancer. As Kālī danced equally well in all the forms of dancing, Siva finally began the *Arđha Arđha* dance, of course, Kālī, in her modesty, could not perform. There are two statues of Urdhvar in the Madurai temple: one is in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* which is already referred to and the other is in the *Pudu Mandapa*. In both Siva is represented with ten arms.

The symbols held in the ten arms differ in some extent in the *Pudu Mandapa* and *Kambattadi* specimens. In the *Kambattadi Mandapa* sculpture the five right hands hold the drum, the axe, the arrow, the dagger and the *śula*. In the five left hands are fire, deer, arrow, shield and bell. *Apsarmāra* is lying below the left foot of Siva. In the *Pudu Mandapa* statue the five right hands hold the drum, the axe, the sword (?), the *abhaya* pose. Four of the five left hands hold the fire, *pāśa*, shield and the bad standard. The front left hand is in the *gajahasta* pose thrown across the body and right leg. *Apsarmāra* with the snake is lying under the left leg. Kālī is in the right and is playing on the *panamuka vādyam* or *kudamudi*. On the base Nandī is sculptured playing on the drum. Brahma with the cymbals and Vishnu beating the *pāṭaka* are sculptured on the four faces of this pillar.

This sculpture is one of the masterpieces of the Madurai temple. The disposition of the hands and the legs are well thought out to give the whole piece a balanced poise and a fine sense of action found in no other specimen in the Madurai temple or outside it. The modelling reveals a very good knowledge of form and plastic sense. The excellent treatment of surface and the minute finish of symbols and ornaments do not detract from the merits of the sculpture. Above all the craftsman's great masterliness is revealed in the face which is a very expressive one. Its serene dignity, its conscious omnipotence and the benign smile are characteristics which no one will miss to notice. It is a triumph of modern art and this much well-known example¹ could share its merits equally with some of the best known bronzes of Natarāja in South India.

KALI. The figure of Kālī in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* is ten armed, just as her figure in the *Pudu Mandapa* is. These two Kālīs are of heroic size and there is no choice as to which is actually the more mercurious. Perhaps the earlier sculpture in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* may be said to score one point or two. The Kālī image in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* has a flaming *jata* and in the four right arms it holds the trident, an arrow, a *tanka* and (?). In the four left arms Kālī holds the skull, the bow, the noose and the *pāṇi*. The left foot of Kālī rests on a *gana* who is seen supporting it.

The Kālī in the *Pudu Mandapa* is more fierce looking than her counterpart in the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. She has also eight arms. In the four right arms she holds the trident, the arrow, goad and dagger. In her four left hands she holds the *kapala*, the bow, *para* and the shield. She is fully ornamented and her left leg rests on the hand of a female *gana*. Both these statues are stated to be forms of Bhadrā Kālī.

A figure of Rudra Kālī is in the *Vira Vasantaraya Mandapa* next to the image of Rudra. This Kālī has flaming *kṛita* with a five-headed *nāga* behind. She is in the act of dancing and is eight armed. The front right arm is perhaps in the *varuṇya* pose. Her three back right hands hold the dagger, the *sakra* (broken) and

1. O. C. Ganguly: *South Indian Bronzes*.

a goad. In her left arms she holds a *kapala*, a shield, a *chank* and a noose. A high *torana* is sculptured over the figure. The dancer is not wild and the sculpturing gives a picture of controlled movement.

VIRABHADRA : Images of Virabhadra are more popular in the Tiruga districts than in the Tamil country. The Madurai temple has a number of sculptures representing some of the forms of Virabhadra. In the *Kambatti Mandapa* are two forms, Agnora Virabhadra and Agni Virabhadra. These are early specimens and are as large as the Urdhvar and Kālin images referred to above. According to legend Dakṣa, the father-in-law of Śiva, slighted Him during the *yāga* as a result of which Uṣā, Śiva's wife, sacrificed herself to Śiva in anger sent Virabhadra and Bṛadrakṣi to destroy Dakṣa. The Agnora Virabhadra image in the *Kambatti* is a noble piece of sculpture full of action in every part of it and with a most expressive face. It is unarmoured and has a *jāṇakuta* with a *līṅga* in its centre as usual with Virabhadra's figures. Styroed flames arise out of the head. It is a fully ornamented figure. In the five right arms the following symbols are seen: a sword piercing Dakṣa, an arm holding an arrow from the quiver, the axe, the *śūla* and the drum. In the corresponding five left arms are a large shield with a carved figure, a bow, the deer, and the hammer bolt. Agnora Virabhadra wears many garlands as described in the *āgamas*.

A much smaller figure of Virabhadra is in the Vijayaśivara shrine, to the south of the Mādakṣi shrine. Though more ornate, it is in the same style as the figure in the Tiru Paṇṇur *Mandapa*, and is probably by the same hand. Excepting two, the other ends of his arms are broken and it is not known what symbols were held in them. The figure of Dakṣa and his wife standing with *apara* and *utara* are on the side face of the pillar base.

The Pillar and Pillar *Mandapa* contains a few more images of Dakṣa, a *Saṃhāramūrti* and many of these are in the severe style of earlier Dravidian sculptures before it gave its own strong and manner of Vijayanagar. The best of them is the image on the pillar at the extreme west end of the entrance. This is a strikingly dignified statue. It has a *jātā mukuta*, has three eyes and has no hands. It has the other attributes of Śiva on the ears and in the hands. There are four hands. In the two back hands are held the axe and

the deer, the front right hand has a sword but only the hilt and the point are visible and the rest of the sword is broken. The front left hand holds the shield. Siva wears a bell on His right leg and anklets on both the legs. Siva has His right foot on a fallen bearded figure who is perhaps Daksha.

A figure of Aghora Virabhadra is executed in a restrained manner on the first pillar immediately above the first flight of steps in the *mandapa*. This figure of Virabhadra has a terrifying look with big hanging moustaches, fangs and protruding teeth. The *jata* is neatly made up with *tinga* in the centre and the circular crown over it has a large *ambamukhi* ornament. In the left hand is a shield and in the right hand is the hilt only of the sword. A big garland of skulls hangs from the neck. The left leg is placed on a figure which is trying to escape from which Virabhadra is vanquishing for what he is fighting. A figure of the upraised head. A very small figure is lying on the left foot. This is evidently another reference to the Daksha Samhara. A sequential representation of another figure — namely Daksha Samhara is on the lower face of his pillar. The figure here has a high *jata* *makuta* ornamented with a *ambamukhi* on top. It has fangs and only two eyes. It has four hands. The back right hand is seen lifting an arrow from the quiver and the back left hand is close to the bow. The front left hand is holding the head of a figure raised whom the left leg of the Samhara is shown holding him tight. The front right hand is seen cutting off the head of the figure with the sword. The two images on this pillar are alive with action.

Opposite to the Aghora Virabhadra figure is a well-finished and much-ornamented statue with only one of its arms fully visible, the others being broken. The single arm holds a heavy sword lifted high over the head as if to strike. This figure also perhaps refers to Daksha Samhara as it has a *linga* on its highly ornamented crown. It has heavy moustaches and fangs, wears many necklaces and garlands including one of skulls. It is bare-footed but has anklets. It wears a *synopasta*.

The fourth statue in the *Kambattadi Mandapa* (three of which, Oruvavar, Kârti and Aghora Virabhadra, have been dealt with already, is a playful sculpture labelled Agni Virabhadra. The image

is as large as the rest of its companions and its fiercer and vigorous action impresses every one who sees it. It has a flaming *juta* and a well-shaped face with flying moustaches over a smiling mouth which, however, has fangs on either side. It has eight hands and the two front hands carry a long trident which is piercing the neck of a fallen figure over whom Virabhadra has planted his left foot. The three remaining right hands hold the *damaru*, sword and (?). The three left hands hold the *kapala*, the shield and the bell. Many necklaces and garlands adorn the image which is seen with sandal on its feet.

THE ASHTASAKTI. In the *Ashtasakti Mandapa* is a group of eight sculptures representing the eight *śakti* goddesses. They are four on each side of the corridor. On the northern side they are, from east to west, Yajñarūpini, Svāmālai, Mahesvari, Manonmani and on the southern side, from east to west are Kāmāri, Raudri, Vairāvi and Mahālakṣmī. All the sculptured are about five feet in height and are sculptured on the pillars. All these sculptures are in *sambhanga* pose with four hands and excepting Raudri and Manonmani the front hands of all the goddesses are in the *abhaya-varada* pose. All the goddesses excepting Raudri and Manonmani wear *kṛtāmukuta*. The Yajñarūpini has in her back right hand a *śruva*, the sacrificial spoon, and in her back left hand a flower. Svāmālai next to her has a lotus and a *nilotpala* in her two back hands. Mahesvari has a lotus and a *pūṣa* in her two back hands. Manonmani has her front right hand in the *cinnudra* pose with a rosary and her front left hand holds a *nilotpala* flower while her two back hands hold lotus flowers. She has a *jāṭāmukuta* on her head. Kāmāri has in her two back hands the *śakti* and the *parāyudha*. Raudri has a *jāṭāmukuta* with flames and fangs at the corners of her eyes. In her front right hand she holds a *sula* and in the front left a *kapāla*. In the back right hand she holds a *damaru* and in her back left hand a *śanka*. Vairāvi wears a *kṛtāmukuta* *tripundra* on her forehead, has protruding fangs and in her back right hand she has a *cakra* and in her back left hand a conch. Mahālakṣmī has in her two back hands two lotus flowers.

VIGHNESVARA: There are many images of Vighnesvara and Subrahmaṇya and many shrines dedicated to these gods in the Madurai temple. The *Saddhi Vināyaka* shrine

in the *Krikatti Mandapa* is the *Sthala Vināyaka*; but the most popular and the more widely known of these *Ganapati* images is the *Muddurani Pillaiyār* in *Svāmi Sannalhi* second *prāṇa* southern side, opposite to the *Nadukattu Gopura*. This huge image is reported to have been found when the *Vandiyūr Teppakulam* was dug during *Tirumala Nayaka*'s days. This *Vināyaka* is that *ivada* *laka* holds in the front right hand the broken tusk and in the back right hand the *ankusa*. In the left hand he holds the *chakra* and in the back left hand the noose. The trunk is touching the *chakra* in his left hand. This *Vināyaka* is seated on a *padmasana*. In the *Asthasakti Mandapa* is a beautiful stone sculpture of *Mahā Ganapati* on his *śāhana*, the musk rat. Seated on his lap on the left side is a goddess. He is ten-armed and only the following weapons are distinguishable: The *ankusa*, the broken tusk, the *chakra* are seen in three of the right hands. In the left hand the lotus, sugarcane bow, the *pasa* are the only symbols distinguishable. The front left hand is hugging the *Devi*. The trunk which is hooked to the right holds a pot. A similar, but more highly finished, image of *Mahā Ganapati* without the musk rat *śāhana* is in the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa*. In sixteen arms he holds the same symbols as in the *Asthasakti Mandapa* image. On the left leg which is bent, sits the *Devi*. The ruby pot is in the trunk. Perhaps this image served as a model for the one in the *Asthasakti Mandapa*. This is one of the best images of *Vighneshvara* in this temple. Small well-carved images of *Nerita Ganapati* are sculptured on the walls of the *Chinna Kottai Gopura* and *Nadukattu* and other *gopuras*.

SUBRAHMANYA: An image of *Shanmukha* riding on his vehicle, the peacock, is also in the *Asthasakti Mandapa*. This fine stone image has six heads and twelve arms. The front hands are in the *abhaya varada* pose and the right hands hold the *tanka* arrow, sword, discus and noose. The left hands have the *sakti*, a bow, a shield, a flower and the *kukkuta*. A fine image of a four-armed *Subrahmanya* riding his peacock is in the *Thousand Pillar Mandapa*. This spirited image is full of action and shows probably *Subrahmanya* as the War Lord. In the two back hands are the *sakti* and *ayudha*. The front right hand is held aloft as if commanding while the front left hand holds the reins of the peacock. The right leg is bent and placed on the peacock's back while the left leg which is in a

strut up is urging on the peacock. Equally fine low reliefs of Subrahmanya on the peacock may be seen on the walls of the *Nadukattu* and other *gopuras*.

SARASVATI : Excellent stone carving of a very high order is seen on the statue of a goddess with a *vinā* in her hands which is in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. This is usually pointed out as an image of Sarasvati, but it is perhaps Rājamāraṅga who is described as having one of her feet resting on a *vinā* and listening to a parrot's talk while playing on the *vinā*. As this image has all these attributes and has only womanly features more likely to be Rājamāraṅga than Sarasvati. Among the many beautiful sculptures in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* this is one of the best. The execution of its surface, form and anatomy and of course is amazing. The absence of crown or the face is, however, to be noted. The sculpture is a harmonious combination of artistry and craftsmanship.

KANKALAMURTI : The image of Kankalamūrti in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* differs from āgamic description to some extent. He is usually represented with four arms. In his left forearm he has the drum which he is seen beating with a stick held in his right arm. His back right arm is touching the mouth of the deer while the back left arm holds the *kankala danda*. He is draped in fine clothes and has a sword stuck in his girdle and he wears sandals. The Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* image shows this *mūrti* with the drum in his back right hand while the front right hand touches the deer. The front left arm holds a bowl and the *śilādanda* is in the back left arm. He is draped and has the sword and sandals as described in the āgamis. This image has the same sense of movement as we find in many other statues in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, as, for instance, in *angam puttina* Siva, Kattappari, Subrahmanya and others.

MANMATA AND RATI : Two sculptures in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* relate to Manmata and his wife, Rati. Manmata is a married figure and the two hands are broken. The tip only of the sugarcane bow held in his left hand is seen. The right hand probably held the characteristic arrow.

Rati has fortunately escaped mutilation. She is beautifully modelled and is seen riding her vehicle, the *hamia*, whose plumes

are individually carved. Rati's attendant *chari* bearer is just back of the bird and is another well-mounted figure. The figure of Subrahmanya riding a peacock which is in the same *mandapa* should be compared with his figure of Rati. Though both are shown in the same pose, the figure of Subrahmanya is more expressive of action.

The figure of Mohini which is opposite to Baskahāra is remarkable for its characterisation and the men who were tormented by her charms are sculptured on the remaining sides of this panel. Among other carvings which are equally beautiful but unfortunately unidentifiable are the figures styled Vedan, Arjuna as Padi, Kalinga and Nāgarāja. Another relief stated to be the "birth" of Ganesa is in the *Pudu Mandapa* and in stuccos and *gopuras*. It shows Ganesa sitting inside the hood of an inverted five-headed snake with Siva and Pārvati standing on either side. No satisfactory explanation of the legend is available at present. A similar relief relating to Subrahmanya in the *Pudu Mandapa* is also unexplained. A relief in one of the pillars in the central cave of the *Pudu Mandapa* shows Hanuman being nursed after his attempt to catch Surya, the sun. This panel which illustrates the whole of the episode from Hanuman crying to catch the sun and his precipitation (fall) after the attempt and his being nursed is all very dramatically pictured with the sun rising over the clouds.

A relief of a figure with the head of a Vighnesvara, the trunk and hands of a woman and the legs of a tiger is found on one of the pillars of the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. This same figure is also found in various other places in the temple and yet is exact identical. It is not, however, the *Om bhakti* in the temple, called it *Vāgrasaka*. Group is, perhaps, referring to its three mixed up features. A better *bhakti* (though it was only a *śilpa*) is not.

D. PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

A very significant aspect of the sculptures of the period relates to the portraits of kings and queens, of ministers and generals and of donors and devotees. The Madurai temple is perhaps unique in this respect, though some other temples also possess some groups of sculptures of this description. Even if Tirumala Nayaka had not built any of his *gopuras*, *mandapas* or tanks, he would still be famous as the man who had the genius to put up a group of ten statues

representing his ancestors. These statues of six generations of the Nayaka rulers of Madurai during a period of a little over a century is a singular contribution to Dravidian art. The *Ashtasakti Mandapa* and the *Minākshi* shrine *prākāras* contain some other important groups of portrait statues while numerous other similar sculptures are to be seen individually or in small groups in various other places in the temple.

A knowledge of the differences in outlook between Indian and Western artists is necessary to correctly estimate the true nature and value of Indian portraiture. Without such a knowledge one is likely to arrive at mistaken conclusions that our portrait sculptors produced only conventionalised effigies and not anything like portraits in the real sense. One may be quite sure that none of the royal personages represented in the *Pudu Mandapa* or elsewhere ever sat for their *stapatis*. It was the *stapati* who caught glimpse of his patrons, carried the image in his memory, and having sufficiently contemplated on the image, transferred it to stone or wall. Sometimes he produced a few preliminary trials for approval and when these were approved or passed by the patron, the final work was carried out from the approved sketch. That this has been the practice till very recent times may be seen from the scores of these preliminary sketches still existing in private collections and in the families of artists. It will thus be seen that every care was taken by the artist in the production of a likeness and that merely because he did not work from life one cannot say his portraiture was merely conventional.

Another criticism usually levelled against the Madurai sculptures and similar other works is that since the portraits represent many generations of kings the artist who did them must have drawn freely on his imagination. But it must be remembered that as the art is carried on for generations in the same family, there usually exist in the family collection of sketches and pricked tracings of works by the earlier masters. These are handed down as heirlooms from generation to generation and a grandson could easily produce with the help of these pricked tracings a portrait or other work of art just in the same manner as his grandfather did. Even today such tracings of the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore could be seen in the family collection of the artists. One could now easily guess how portraits of the earlier Nayaka rulers could have been done from similar tracings or sketches.

felt as a legacy in the families of the artists. As the statues of the Nayaka rulers were done almost within living memory, one may be sure that they are really original pieces of art and not mere stereotyped copies and therefore may be taken to be characteristic portraits in every sense of the word. The treatment of some of the features like the eye-brows, the eyes, the nostrils and cheeks may appear to be conventional, but how far they were conventional and how far true to type could not now be accurately stated. If, however, portraits of the same person are compared it would be seen that convention is only subsidiary to characterisation and the features are individualised. The statues of the Nayaka rulers are life-size and the height of the statues vary from about $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 heads each, the length of head being measured on the longest line of the face from head to chin. The width across the shoulders measures a little over 2 heads. These proportions also agree with the Western standards for the human figure. The queens measure about 6 heads each.

The mounting of the statues on high pedestals is appropriate, for when the God is borne in procession high over the shoulders of bearers these royal devotees will be almost on a level and the sight of the God receiving the obeisance of ruler after ruler is a very lasting impression to any one who witnesses it.

Some amount of confusion has been caused by mistaken labelling of a few of the statues. Though this may be important in considering the genealogy of the ten rulers, it is really not so essential for aesthetic consideration of the statues as portraits.

VISVANATHA NAYAKA: Visvanatha Nayaka's statue is the first one on the left in the central nave as one enters it from the east. His commanding personality is well portrayed. His lips and chin are individualistic and his build, though strong, is not as adipose as that of many of his successors. He wears a Vaishnava mark. His body appears to be bare and he wears a *vashti* with a richly brocaded *upavastha* tied over it and the whole kept in place by a jeweled waist band and belt. The same kind of dress is worn by all the Nayaka rulers. On his head he wears a bejewelled cap. There is a striking similarity in some of the jewels worn by these rulers and this leads one to think that they are part of the royal regalia usually worn by successive rulers of the line. Some of these jewels found on the

Nayaka statues are a two-string necklace, gemset *kankana*, a five-row bracelet on the left hand, a poniard, a high signet ring and an anklet.

Besides such regalia Visvanatha Nayaka has a richly ornamented gem set necklace, smaller ornaments and a pair of armlets on each arm. His poniard is akruś in his belt on his right side. Visvanatha Nayaka has a queen on each side, one of whom may probably be Nāganā, the mother of Kṛṣṇappa Nayaka.

KUMARA KRṢṆAPPA : The second statue is that of Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa, the son of Visvanatha. He has a refined face and wears richly ornamented cap, the crest of which leans forward slightly. This style of high cap usually called the Vijayanagara cap seems to have been a common type of head gear of the time, only differing in the richness of material and ornamentation. Two strings usually hang from the lining to the cap and this may be seen near the ears of all the Nayaka rulers who wear this high cap. The imperial sovereignty of the Vijayanagar rulers was acknowledged by some of the earlier Nayaka rulers down perhaps to Lingayana. Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa wears the same costume and jewellery as the emperor, but wears plainer armlets and wears his anklet on the left leg. His poniard is, however, tucked on the right side. He seems to be the only one to have whiskers. Two ladies, obviously his two queens, stand on either side with a lady in waiting close behind. Both the royal ladies have comely features and appear quite youthful.

VIRAPPA NAYAKA : Virappa Nayaka, the son of Kṛṣṇappa Nayaka, is probably represented by the third statue in the hall. He may be said to be sparsely clad compared to other Nayakas. His figure is nearly six feet tall. His eye-lashes are a little more pronounced. He wears the *uḍḍiṭṭu* on his forehead and on his body. His high cap is richly ornamented and he wears two necklaces with pendants. One of the pendants is long and looks almost like that worn by the Lingayats. His ear ornament is also different from those of his predecessors and looks more like a pendant of three tower buds as generally seen on "Pāndya" statues. Otherwise his

1. A statue in the north corridor of the Annamalai temple and another in front of the Jannasambandar Temple may also be representations of Virappa Nayaka.

jewellery and costumes are the same as those of the other rulers. His queen stands on his right. On his left side stands an attendant woman. Virappa was a great contributor to the temple complex and was perhaps an ardent devotee as may be seen from the Saiva attributes favoured by him.

KRSNAPPA NAYAKA : The identity of the fourth statue on the left is not clear. At present the label above the statue reads Krsnappa Nayaka. But at one time the label appears to have been so damaged as to be illegible¹. In front of the Jñānasambandar Temple are two portrait statues. The one on the left is perhaps that of Virappa Nayaka and is more than life-size. The statue on the right is much smaller in height. In the *Pudu Mandapa* also the third statue, i.e., the statue of Virappa Nayaka, is nearly 6 ft. tall, while the fourth figure is comparatively very short. Most probably the fourth statue in the *Pudu Mandapa* and the statue on the right in front of the Jñānasambandar Temple represent a younger brother. He is soon what thick-set and seems to be practical-minded, though devout and his character is well brought out by the simple and plain jewellery he has chosen. He wears the *mbhatu*. His brocade cap is almost plain except for a lace band. His armlets are simple. He wears no medallary jewels and the pen and. His queen on his right side bears a strong family likeness to the queen on the right of Kumāra Krsnappa. He has another queen on his left.

LINGAMA NAYAKA : This is the name given to Kumāra Krsnappa II in the modern label of the sculpture. Lingama is a tall man of well-proportioned limbs, not corpulent like many of the Nayakas. He has a rather prominent nose and a very too assertive mouth. He strikes one as a born administrator. He wears the *mbhatu* and his necklace has also a large pen and and a sear ornament is also like that of Virappa and has large pen and flower buds. His tall cap is embroidered and in addition to the usual ragama he wears necklaces with pendants and shoulder ornaments. A queen stands on each side of him. The queen on his left is tall.

1. M.E.R. 1915, pt. II para 60, Heras. *The Statues of the Nayakas of Madurai in the Pudu Mandapam*. A.Q.J.M.S. (Vol. XV, p. 209 ff.,

VISVAPPA NAYAKA : The statue opposite to Lingappa is that of his brother Visvappa Nayaka. The present label calls him Kṛṣṇappa. Visvappa Nayaka is a tall and majestic figure measuring about eight heads in height. His eyes, nose and mouth are quite individualistic, though he has a weak chin. His ears are well formed and his sensitive fingers are each adorned with a ring. He is the first to abandon the Vijayanagara high cap and wear a cap or turban which seems to have become the fashion with his successors. He wears a necklet and shoulder ornaments in addition to the usual other jewels common to the Nayaka royal personages. A queen stands on each side of him. He and his successors wear only the Vaiṣṇava mark, and seem to have abandoned the Śaiva mark.

KASTURI RANGAPPA : To the left of Visvappa is the statue of his brother Kasturi Rangappa who is a striking personality. His nose is sharp. He has an expressive mouth and keen eyes. The crest of his cap is not tied down and so, as it stands up, it looks almost like a Vijayanagara high cap. He wears necklaces with pendants and two or three other necklaces in addition to the wrist-string necklace usually worn. He has a tight-fitting garment and his bracelets are well chased and mounted with gems. He has no queen by his side. Kasturi Rangappa has no moustache and is clean shaven.

MUTTU KRṢṆAPPA : To the left of Kasturi Rangappa is the statue of Mutta Kṛṣṇappa, the son of Visvappa, the sixth ruler. Mutta Kṛṣṇappa is a tall man and measures eight heads high. His facial features are even more personal and his lips and nose are well-chiselled. One cannot fail to notice the striking resemblance between Mutta Kṛṣṇappa and his ancestor, Viṣṇunatha Nayaka, the founder of the line. It is not very clear whether he wears an anklet or no. He has only a cap on his head and has all the usual jewels. Two of his queens are seen on his sides.

MUTTU VIRAPPA : Mutta Virappa looks so different from the other Nāyakas that one must say that his statue possesses a distinct personality of its own. His eyes are prominent with a small nose tucked between them but his lips are beautifully modelled. His full cheeks have a prominent chin and his short neck sits on a

narrow chest. He is flabby and is stout. He strikes one as a man of pleasure and not too intelligent. He wears a cap arched on his waist. There is only a belt without the usual waist band. He has three queens standing beside him.

TIRUMALA. Tirumala Nāyaka whose statue may have been the most faithful as a portrait has been completely spoiled by senseless coats of paint and ill-drawn features with arbitrary coloration for the lines of the original sculpture. What one sees now is only the painter's version and not the sculptor's. If justice has to be done to this beautiful sculpture these daubs of paint should be removed and the statue left in its original state, or if it is to be painted the work should be done by an artist who understands the sculpture. As it is, if one has to get a more correct impression of how Tirumala may have looked like, one has to compare the *Padu Mandapa* statue with that in the *Ashtakatti Mandapa* which fortunately is without any daubs of paint.

Tirumala Nāyaka, though stout like many other Nāyakas, has an individuality of his own different from most of the rest. One could immediately notice that his eyes are set somewhat slanting, that his nose is not sharp like those of his predecessors and his close-drawn mouth has a small chin below and a wide jaw behind with a rather prominent cheek bone. Tirumala's dress is also different from that of his predecessors. His *vashti* seems to be entirely of brocade and one end of it is taken over the body to pass over the left shoulder and is brought forward to hang loose over the right shoulder. His *angadostrā* is tied round his waist like a sash. He wears only a waist band without belt. Besides the usual jewels he wears a number of necklaces, prominent among which is a close-fitting necklet and pendant with three drops. This single jewel serves almost like an identification disc for Tirumala's portraits. He wears a cap and has two queens on each side with attendant ladies behind. The queens are all well-modelled and have characteristic features. The first queen on the right, however, wears a coiffure different from the rest of the royal ladies of the Nāyaka rulers and so is presumed to be a princess from Tanjore whom Tirumala married. The costume and jewellery worn by these ladies illustrate the prevailing fashion of those days.

The *Ashṭaśakti Mandapa* which was built about the same period as the *Pudu Mandapa* has four statues of Nāyaka rulers standing in a rather ungraceful position at the entrances to an odd variety of shops. These statues which are only about half the height of the sculptures in the *Pudu Mandapa* were perhaps done as preliminary models. They are all well executed and display careful technique. The faces of the statues is almost realistic. One may even say that on these paintings they easily score over the bigger and more polished statues in the *Pudu Mandapa*. Yet their presence in the *Ashṭaśakti Mandapa* is hardly noticed by painters. They are each accompanied by their queens who are, however, hidden for the most part behind the framework of doors put up to enclose the shops. These four statues do not bear any labels, but careful comparison with the statues in the *Pudu Mandapa* would show that they probably represent Tirumala and his brother, Mutu Virappa, on one side and of Mutu Kṛṣṇappa, their father, and Kṛṣṇappa, their grandfather, on the opposite side of the *mandapa*. These statues bring without paint help us to study them as the sculptor finished them.

The statues of Tirumala and his brother Mutu Virappa in the Tirumala Nāyaka *Mandapa* which are at Alagarkoil are rather inferior specimens and only show how soon the art had declined. Another statue of Tirumala inside the temple is also a poor specimen. The work is crudely done and the anatomy is disgusting. A similar specimen of disproportionate and poor work is also to be seen at Tirupparankurram.

Some very better characterisation is seen in three bas reliefs of Tirumala Nāyaka on the pillars in the *Pudu Mandapa*. In two of them the Nāyaka is worshipping Śrī Mātākaṭi Sundarāyāra, sheltered by the *dharmā kōṇḍāya*. In the third relief Tirumala is worshipping Vagabdevan. The face bears a close likeness to the statues in the *Pudu* and the *Ashṭaśakti Mandapa*; and is remarkable for its pictorial qualities. A stucco group of Tirumala and his queens in the second *prākāra* of the Amman shrine is a very good work of modelling but is unfortunately spoilt by crude painting.

SCULPTURES IN THE AMMAN SHRINE: Facing the stucco of Tirumala and his wives is the south side of the Amman shrine second *prākāra* which contains four other sculptural portraits

In the north corridor are four other similar sculptures and in the east *prākāra* five more figures are to be found. So, these corridors could be Amman shrine contain no less than 14 statues which are obviously portraits besides a few others about which one is not sure of their nature. Another interesting fact is that these corridors were built by about the years 1565 and 1569 A. D. and so are earlier than the *Pudu Mandapa*. The statues in them seem to be earlier work and there is less elaborate carving than in the *Pudu Mandapa* sculptures. Though the lines of dress and form are conventionalised, yet there is subtle and unmistakable characterisation in each of them that they have to be classified as portrait sculptures. Of the four statues in the south corridor two figures represent perhaps Setta and her husband Vijayanagara viceroys. One viceroy and one Setta figure are on the north side of the corridor. Another viceroy and Setta are on the south side of the corridor. The Setta figures wear saris with tight fitting garmmas *uttariya* with *angustium* and on the west. Though they wear an armlet on the right arm, they have no bangles or bracelets, nor do they have anklets on their legs. A study of their face shows that they perhaps belong to the same family. Both of them have thin mustaches. Their nose, mouth and chin are individualistic. They wear *abhaya* on the right head. The viceroys wear the Vijayanagara high cap, and lophaceous drapery. Besides rows of necklaces, armlets and bangles they wear the same kind of five-row bracelets as seen on the left hand of the Nāyaka rulers in the *Pudu Mandapa*. The viceroys wear anklets on both their legs. They wear Vaishnava marks and their faces show very good characterisation. The Nāyaka and the Setta figures in the northern end of the corridor wear, in addition to the ornaments mentioned, a jewelled garland on their waist and obviously are far more important personages than the other two. The south corridor is reported to have been built by T. Chappu Setta, the son of Perumāla about 1505 A.D. Perhaps the figures in the north side of the corridor is that of T. Chappu Setta himself.

A similar group of four figures on facing pillars are seen in the north corridor. All of them wear the five-row necklets and are

evidently people of high rank, perhaps princes or viceroys. Of the two figures on the south side of the corridor one wears a turban and diaphanous clothing. The figure next to him is the only one of the four to wear the Vaishnava mark and has unmistakable Telugu features. He wears an embroidered and jewelled cap and bears a striking resemblance to Krishna Virappa Nayaka who is reputed to have built this corridor, probably before he came to the throne. The remaining three figures wear Saiva marks and are perhaps persons of high rank. All the four figures wear ear drops different from those seen on the Nayaka rulers. The two figures on the north side of the corridor wear the Vijayanagara high cap. One of these figures is nearly 6 1/2 feet high and the three others are between 5 1/2 and 6 feet high.

On the eastern side of the *prakāra* are some more figures, of which the one to the left of the *Sannidhi Gopura* is a much bejewelled figure, 6 feet high, on a high pedestal. This statue perhaps represents Settiyappan who is reported to have built this side of the *prakāra* about the year 1563 A.D.¹ The sculpturing is not so well finished as the other statues found in the *prakāra*, but the portrait is a good work no doubt.

On the Tirumalai Vināyaka shrine are two figures which represent perhaps two donors. Their wives are sculptured in the corresponding positions on the Tirumalai Subrahmanya shrine. The sculpturing of the figures is somewhat crude.

OTHER PORTRAIT FIGURES. Standing on the *Pāṇḍyan Paṭṭuwaṭi* of the Golden Lily Tank are two remarkably fine statues reported to be of a Pāṇḍya king and a Dananjaya Setti. These represent perhaps the legendary Pāṇḍya king and merchant who are connected with the founding of the city. Both are very carefully done specimens and the face of Dananjaya Setti especially is very good as a portrait, though it is a pity one cannot identify the individual. Perhaps Dananjaya Setti is Perumāl who is said to have built the north side of the Golden Lily Tank in about 1562 A.D.² The sculpturing of the two statues is

1. *Tirupparai Paṭṭam*, No. 16. *Tirupparavāla*, verse 40.

2. *Tirupparai Paṭṭam*, No. 13. *Tirupparavāla*, verse 31.

different from that of many other portrait sculptures found in the temple and are obviously the work of a master hand.

The figure of the Pāndya king wears a high cap but the rest of the figure is similar to another statue reputed to be that of a Pāndya king in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The figure in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* wears a highly ornamented *kirta* and the same jewels as the figure on the Golden Lily Tank. Though the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* figure has more conventionalised eyes, nose and mouth, the sculpturing is even more highly finished than that of the Golden Lily Tank. These two figures afford a striking comparison for study of Indian craftsmanship.

Two very good pieces of portraiture are to be found in the Jñānasambandar Temple at the *Kambattadi*. There is less conventionalism in the face and the individualisation on the two figures is quite successful. Perhaps the larger statue represents the builder of this temple, Krishna Virappa, with whose statue in the *Pudu Mandapa* it has strong resemblance. The smaller statue is perhaps that of his younger brother. The drapery and the ornaments are not well rendered. The shrine dates about 1372 A.D. during a period of great building activity which included the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*, some of the shrine corridors, the north *Gopura*, the *Chitra Gopura* and others.

Two statues reputedly of Rāni Mangammāl, one in the *Nagarā Mandapa* and another in the *Asthāna Mandapa* at Tirupparankunram, afford interesting study. Both compare very well in their characterisation of the Rāni, though the diminutive figure of her grandson Vyavaranga Chokkarāṭa is not handled in the same manner. The Rāni's immense coiffure and her pose is the same in the two statues.

The Indian sculptor seems to be more successful in the portraiture of private individuals probably because he has more opportunities for closer study of the subject. Sculptures of this class which are scattered in the various *mandapas* are all very good specimens of portrait work possessing a high degree of characterisation without much conventionalism. First among these one has to notice an equestrian statue in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* reputed to be that of Ayyaṇṭha Mudali, the great Nāyaka general, and

minister. *Aryanātha Mudali* is credited with having built the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. As there is no other portrait in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa* one may take it that this statue represents *Aryanātha Mudali* himself. He is mounted on a nicely caparisoned charger and his bearing is that of a dauntless man. He is dressed in the *Mughal* style which had by this time greatly influenced *Hindu* apparel. His well-defined nose sits over a mouth which is slightly opened as though to give a command. He has a neatly trimmed and groomed head and his torso is that of a man of fine physique. Another equestrian figure in the *Pudu Mandapa* bears some resemblance to *Aryanātha*, but is not as carefully executed as the one in the Thousand Pillar *Mandapa*. The horse is fully prancing and the supporting human figures under it which had perhaps by that time come into fashion for equestrian statuary lend a rather unreal look to what is intended to be a portrait sculpture.

One of the most striking pieces of portraiture is that of *Nāranappayyar* which is tucked away in the *Mangammal Mandapa* in the Golden Lily Park. The statue is slender, its lines rhythmic and flowing and the shapes most beautifully conceived. It is a real masterpiece. It reveals a fine plastic sense and feeling for form. The sculptor has succeeded in portraying with the utmost economy of line a leading personality of the period. *Nāranappayyar* is dressed as befits his office. He has a turban on his head and has a *Mughal* style of dress over which he has worn his *dhoti*. His *angavastris* neatly folded is tied round his waist and its ends hang in front in *triple* style. *Nāranappayyar* has a necklet with a pendant, a two-row necklace and a *yagnopavita* of four strings, perhaps of pearls with gemset *net* spaced at regular intervals. He wears bracelets on his two hands and rings on his fingers. His earrings are *kundalas*. His legs and feet are bare. He looks most dignified. His face which is adorned well *ornaments* shows an old, handsome and intelligent person. His nose, lips, chin and his shapely cheeks show great characterisation by the sculptor.

The statues of *Mutturama Aiyar* and his wife in the *Mandapa* named after him and of *Subbarayar* with his two wives in the *Mandapa*, also named after him are two other wonderful portraits in the temple. The characterisation of the two gentlemen

is very well done and is almost realistic. Mutturama Aiyar wears a *panadukucam* and his bare body is adorned with rows of necklaces and he wears *yampapatti*. He has a bracelet on each arm. His *sikka* is tied in the orthodox manner on a saffron head. Mutturama Aiyar seems to be a pious and genial old gentleman and the statue perhaps had done him full justice. Subbarayar appears to have been a man of some rank. He wears earrings, necklaces and bracelets and a small white hand which hangs over his *rocade dhathu*. His *yampapatti* hangs in the usual manner. His sculptured features are highly beautiful. His nose, mouth and chin especially are drawn perhaps with great truth.

Gaurāṅgī Setu in *Vaṅkambala Mandapa* stands with his wife on his side. Another identical figure with a woman is sculptured on the opposite pillar. Though these statues are not of the same class as the statues in the Muṅkshu Temple, yet as portraits they rank quite high. One has only to compare these statues to see how much really they are portraits and not merely conventional figures.

The statue of Muṅkambala Madal in the *Vasanta Mandapa* at Pirapparakkattaram and of the two soldiers near the *palliyarat* at Nagarkovil are other works in the portrait class. The statue of Muṅkambala Madal like that of Nāranappayyar is a very dignified piece and shows the same sense of form and economy of line. His face is strongly individualistic and the whole work is admirably done. The figures of the soldiers at Nagarkovil are useful as a study of two rather unusual subjects though conventionalism is largely employed. The features of the face belong to portraiture really. These statues may be compared with that of Gaurāṅgī Setu.

Two small Nāyaka figures, also in the *Kalyana Mandapa* at Nagarkovil are perhaps those of Vijaya-ragava and his wife. If the names of the Nāyaka rulers they could not be identified with any of the portraits of the Nāyaka kings in the *Pudu Mandapa*. These statues are good and true and the names reveal nothing of the work of the different master. In the Kūṭala Alagar Temple in Madurai are four more portrait statues, all of them statues of Nāyakas, but who could not in any manner be identified with any of those in the *Pudu Mandapa*. These are perhaps viceroys or local chieftains. The workmanship is rather poor.

The decadence of portraiture could be well seen in later works appearing in the Madurai Temple and elsewhere. In the *Kalyāṇa Mandapa* is a short, squat and flabby figure with a wife and an attendant on either side which is pointed out as that of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha. Whether the statue is of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha or anyone else, the whole work is very decadent, despite portraiture and realistic and certainly bears no comparison with the beautiful work seen in the *Padu Mandapa*.

Another statue in the *Mukuti Mandapa* is no better. Though decadent work it may perhaps be that of Kāṭṭi Maṇiśaṅkar, of Arayanatha Madurai and the builder of this *mandapa*. More decadent specimens of portraiture are seen in the statues of Periya Marudai and Chenna Marudai in the Trankatur Temple. More conventionalism and less characterisation mark these statues.

In the same class, though not so decadent, are two other statues in Truppatankunram. The figures are not identifiable and one does not know whom they represent. However they strike one as the work of a lesser hand.

E. TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION

1 History of Administration

The administration of the Madurai temple was founded on a well-organised basis. Rules and orders were framed with attention to minute details. While the king was the final authority and his orders were taken on all important occasions, the day-to-day administration was left in the hands of the *sthanikas* who were seven in number. The rights and responsibilities of each of these *sthanikas* were well defined and each had administrative authority over groups of servants who were placed under their control. All the facts relating to the temple, its repairs, its endowments, its servants, and its festivals were entered in a temple code known as the *Sraddha*. The administration was carried on in the manner described in the *aidamemoire* and whenever differences or doubts arose about any question the book was consulted and its regulations followed.

THE SEVEN DEVASTHANAMS: The main *devasthān* in and around Madurai were seven in number¹. The names of these institutions are the Minakshi-Sundaresvara temple at Madurai, the Sundarāśvānu temple at Madurai and Kalalagar, the Subrahmanya-svānu temple at Tirupparankunram, the Tirumalavāśvānu temple at Pankam, Lākṣmīśvānu temple at Tiruvegaikani and the Cātayāśvānu temple at Kumbakonam. There were also 16 other main *devasthānams* of which the following may be mentioned: Kāśikāśvānu temple at Tiruvāpattinai, Tirumalaśvānu temple at Madurai (the *koṭṭāra* Prabhavānu), Citrāśvānu temple at Mulakirattu, Arāyaśvānu at Arāya, Vīrkaśvānu at Saṅgapat, Kāśyapaśvānu at Cēpaśvānu, Tāḍan, Subrahmanyaśvānu at Pūṭi, Kāramel-nagarśvānu at Alakkalam, Kālmegaiśvānu at Tirumoir (Tirumonai), Tirumalarāyaśvānu at Tiruvādayar, Kūḍāraśvānu at Kūṭṭāṭi, Azaiśvānu at Tiruchani (Tiruccunai²), Tiru-lōṭṭāśvānu temple at Tirupakku, Māngai-pāgesvarasvānu at Perannala, (Pirāṭṭalai,

THE KATTALAI: The main sources of revenue for temple administration were the income from lands owned by the temples or endowed by royal and private donors and the offerings in cash or kind made by the public. The villages endowed were of three kind, namely, *Nirāḍi*, or *Sibbandiporuppu* villages granted to certain temple servants who in return had to perform certain temple duties. Other lands called *teṇanbhāḡa* villages owned by the temple were set apart to meet the expenses of the *pūjās*. A third class of grants comprise *Arakattalai* villages given by donors for specific purposes. These *Arakattalai* are fixed *māṭram* rent-free lands granted for the purpose of daily offerings and prayers to the deity for the departed donor or rather the continuance of the same mode of worship which the donor observed in his lifetime as the prayer is always as if from the donor himself.

Arakattalai seems to have been of two kinds: (1) Lands granted and used by the temple property to pay for the performance of certain religious acts for the benefit of the soul of the departed grantor,

¹ The *devasthān* institution is obtained from two original sources, the *Sūtra* and the *Manu* in reference to the Madras Record Office.

were not even mentioned indirectly. When the British took over the administration in 1801 A.D. they ordered the Collector (Hurdie) "to restore to these temples the lands resumed from the pagodas by the late government. But for some reason not traceable Mr. Hurdie never carried out these instructions and (though the question of its disposal was raised in 1849 and again in 1859) the *Halpa Devasthanam* still remains in the hands of the Government."

The following statement¹ of the amount fixed in Fesly 1214 (1803 A.D. soon after the British took control) for the *Malā Nāvaka's kattalar* is of some interest as showing the details of the grant and the rate of payments for services. The currency in use at the time were *fanams* and *call chukrams*. The relative value in present day currency would be about Rs. 2.12 per *chukram*.

<i>Avani Mūlam</i> festival etc	100 - -
To <i>Tappam</i> festival in <i>Tai</i> etc	150 - -
To adorn the <i>Mariya Mandapam</i> etc	50 - -
To <i>Chinnai</i> festival etc	200 - -
Pay for 10 <i>Vedapārāyana Brahmanas</i> at 4 c per month	24 - -
Pay for two <i>Nādaswaram</i> servants at 4 c per month	48 - -
Pay for one accompanist at 15 fs per month	18 - -
One <i>dole</i> at 18 fs per month	21 - 6
One large <i>dole</i> at 15 fs per month	18 - -
One <i>Kattalai</i> at 15 fs per month	18 - -
One <i>Dandaram</i> at 20 fs per month	24 - -
One <i>Chank</i> blow at 20 fs per month	24 - -
One double <i>dandaram</i> at 5 c per month	60 - -
Hire for ummelia or <i>suruti</i> bearers	15 - -
Elephant feed at 10 c per month	120 - -

1 W. Francis *Madurai District Gazetteer*, p. 199.

2 : Temple Servants

There are stray references to the temple authorities and servants of the Minākshi temple in inscriptions of the Madurai period¹. Apart from this there is not much information about the internal organisation and administration of the temple during the early and medieval periods. Probably the general system of temple organisation and administration had become well established and the same system was followed in other areas.

From literary and epigraphic evidences a fairly complete picture may be got of the internal organisation of the Minākshi temple during the period of the Nāyaka rule. The *Madurai Sthānagar Varadaṇḍi*² gives an account of the *sthānikas* who were in charge of the temple management. These facts are supported and corroborated by other literary and administrative accounts. It says that prior to the formation of the Madurai Sultanate the management of the Minākshi temple was vested in six person-named Sargara Pandya Brahmādirāvar, Mangal Kanda Brahmādiravar, Genu Melanavar, Aracalam Vileppādirāvan, Munivarivāla Perumāl and Ulagadaya Perumāl.³

The temple employed a large staff of servants ranging from materials to people well-versed in the *Sāstras* and the arts. They were under the general supervision of seven *sthānikas* who were each put in authority over specific groups of servants and made responsible for the efficient carrying out of their respective duties by each individual. The seven *sthānikas* about 1524 A.D., were the two *battars*, Vkrāma Pandya Battar, Kulasekara Battar, Jatpurasamdeva Marah, Piriyagaya Marah, Karakk Vileppādirāvan, Pandya Nāra Marah and Rajakara Marahra. Kanda Dikshitar. These seven *sthānikas* were in charge of the affairs of the treasury. Apart from the two *battars*, the seven *sthānikas* were the *maharāmadra* (fish seal), *maharāda* (fish seal), *pon elutāṇi* (gold

1. Vide Chapter VI, Section D.

2. Published in *Sentamāl*, Vol. V.

3. The total number of *sthānikas* seems to have been increased from six to seven at a later date by an addition of two descendants of Genu Madan-Srijaya.

serpent, *prishabhi mudra* (bull seal) and *nāga mudra* (serpent seal). The treasury could be opened or closed only in the presence of all these *śāhnikas* and when the chief treasury *Sri Bandāram Kārūnām* is absent the two *battars* should enter, wearing each a *kaupam* (sacred cloth), and bring out the necessary sealed chests in the presence of the other *śāhnikas*. They should return the chests sealed in a like manner into the *karukulam*. One *battar* had charge of nearly 2 *servants* who included the two *nambis* for performing the *pūja* of the two *malasthānams*. The other *battar* supervised 18 *servants* including a *servant* for cleaning the bronze and stone images. *Getti Mudali* had 13 *servants* who included the man in charge of the provisions and confection stores (*benjana am*), and a sweep for the kitchen. *Kanikka Veluppiārāṇ* had a staff of accountants for the *karukulam*, the surrounding cloisters, the streets (*vēḍṇam*), *vēḍṇam* as *palāṇams* and *ārenas* and *cowpens*. He had also under him the accountant in charge of the cash accounts, the *śāhnikas* and also he had two who read the daily accounts at the *kudaga palakku*. *Pāṇiya nāṭu mudaliyār* was in charge on account of his own standing credit accounts of *paṇice kattalai* and also an account each for the *Paradesi* and the *prishabha mudattai* accounts. The *vājakara mudurai* was in charge of the *paṇice kattalai* and the *pūja* priests for the palace.

Among the Brahman servants were astrologers and oracles. The Śaiva servants comprised a large number of watchmen and lamp lighters.

The duties were divided into two groups and were put in charge of each of the two *battars* who had to do the *pūja* and other duties alternately in the two halves of a month. There were a number of *parichārikas* who had various duties to perform such as keeping watch of the *ardhamandapa* and performing *abhiṣeka* at a number of subsidiary shrines. The chief *parichārika* had charge of the *dheajasthambha* and attended to the daily duties connected therewith.

There were two *adṛṣṭars* who sang *Dvāḍam*, *Tiruvācakam*, *Tirup-pallāṇḍu* and *Tiruvaiṣṇippā* during the daily *pūja*. They had to do similar duties for the *Srīrādhāvakkar Palakku* Choṅkar and during temple processions and *mandiṅṇippadis*. They had to read the *pūrāṇa* at the *Kāṇṇittam* festival and the *Sundarā Purāṇa* on the eighth day festival.

The *Kanakku Viluppādandyan* had to watch all temple activities and maintain full accounts. He had to read out the daily accounts to the *Pallakku Chokkar* at the *Kambattadi* in His daily processions.

The *Gadiyāram Muhurtiddān* (astrologer) should read out the *pandagam* calendar during the *śrī* morning *pūja*. He should chant the *rudrajapa* during *abhisheka* and read out the time when the *Pallakku Chokkar* reaches the *Kambattadi*. He should fix the auspicious time for festivals and *dhvajarohita*. He was in charge of the time going on the *Chitra Gopura* and had to see that correct time was struck.

The *Āgamārāja* should in company with the *nambyārs*, see that the daily *pūjas* and festivals and *sampradhana* were done according to the *Āgam*, *sāstras*. The *nambyārs* should not perform *pūjas* without the permission of the *Deva purohita*.

The *suayampāku* brought the *tirumanyanam* from the river and served the waters for *abhisheka*, washed the cloths for the *Gods* and served *hastadagam* during *dīpa ārādāna*. They waited the *chāmras* and bore the *kelaka pallakku* of *Śrībal Nāvakar* round the *prākāras*. They had to cook the food properly and tastefully and see that the rice was free of grit. They served as *bēl* bearers, and spread the processional cloths from the *Kambattadi* on. They had also to take the *prasāda* to the palace and grind the *sandal paste* for the worship of the idols.

The *adikāra pōrapadyam*'s main duty seems to have been the distribution of cooked rice among the temple servants. The temple watchmen, who were mostly *Vairāvivans* were expected to defend the temple properties even at the risk of their lives in times of danger.

The king seems to have decided the routes by which the temple processions should be taken and the *irupūdāmtangis* (bearers) were expected to carry the *Gods* through those streets only.

There were two sets of *melakkāras*, one belonging to the temple and the other maintained by the palace. During festivals both *melakkāras* served together.

The *Nattuvan* with his accompanists and *Dasu* should be in attendance during the daily *pūjas*, *nityatapas* and festivals. They should perform outside the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. They should not enter the *mandapa*. The *Rudrakankai* on the other hand should perform *natanas* during all the *pūjas* daily. She should perform the *Suddha Artha* and *ekānta ketukku* from the *Arakali puṭa*. She should also attend to the *niranjana dīpa*. She should clean the vessels for the *nityotsava* and distribute the *baṭ* at the eight cardinal points during *utaras*. During the *Āndra* festival she should dance the *parandu*. The Tamil word is "*Parandu ādukundu*". The meaning is not very clear. Possibly the term may have some connection with the description of the God as "*Adirakṣā ādindir*". She should also perform the *Bhavarī nātuka*. She should offer *pushpāṇḍi* and recite *sōkas* when the God arrives at the *yāgarāḥ*. The drummer and the *Rudrakankai*, after performing *rakṣūbhāṇḍanam* should serve at the *yāgasāra* on the occasion of festivals. She should perform *Suddha Artha* to *Sribali Nāyagar* at the eight cardinal points. The cymbalist (*ṇṇan*) should keep time and should not miss a beat.

The *Sarpācāri* should see that *mandapas*, *vimānas*, and *pūja* vessels and the *aṣṭabandhanam* (for *mūrtis*) and *cātibandhanam* (for processional images), and similar works were carried out strictly as they are described in the *Silpa Sāstras*. Wherein these works should not be done. He has to undergo *Siva Dikṣa*.

The *muddirakannas*, i.e., the sealers of the treasury chests, were under the *Arypūṭam* or *Kāyāṭal* who kept a strict surveillance over the treasury. The *Mrykaval* were special watchers for guarding the jewels. The head *karnam* and his assistants, the *Munavars* kept the accounts of the various *kattalais* and the day-to-day transactions. A *karnam* who was in charge of the *Pangunmūḍa Kattalai*, met and collected pilgrims from distant country and attracted to them.

The temple staff mentioned above seemed to have been continued in the same manner up to the time when the British took over the administration. A statement of servants made in 1981 mentions a number of minor services. These included the temple

paṭer (*koṭṭan*), elephant keepers, tailor, "adorners of car," *var-
rāṭṭi*, "sacrificer of life at any accident to pagoda" and lamp light-
ers for "cleaning and lighting lamps carrying candles on festival
days and washing and sweeping pagodas. As the work temple
was lit with oil lamps, the maintenance of these lamps and the
oil needed for them was an expensive item in the temple budget
and the statement gives an accurate account of the lamps used
in the temple and the amount of oil consumed by them with re-
cords, in which, and annual cost. A village her servants employed
for *pūjās* was offered *pūjā* at the "great pagoda at which the
"Mokkai pagoda within the town of Madurai," painters employed
in "pagoda business", bazaar man, supplier of timber (the wood?)
and another who supplied *paṇṇu* or river, a diver "employed in
pagoda business", supplier of flowers who supplied flower for each
kāṭṭu, *Himamī* *pāṭi* *vāṭṭi* *nāṇ*, Kesavaṅga Bava suggests
that he was a porter, a *ṇṇā* or peon and *aravāṭṭi*.

Most of the temple servants seem to have held their offices
on a hereditary basis. The entries in *Sūtra* and the manuscript
records mention a number of instances where sons have succeeded
their fathers in the temple service. The word *Adhnyāta* with reference
to their service signifies that it was a hereditary holding. There is
an instance where the *Kulaguru* who had no male issue succeeded
his name a *dāṇḍādāna* of his *Adhnyāta* to another *batār* with the
consent of the committee and the king. There is another instance
where a *batār* gave part of his *pūjā* service as *śrīdāna*. On another
occasion a *batār* was was indebted to a colleague mortgage part
of his *pūjā* services to him. There have been instances where *batārs*
have been suspended or removed from service as a result of charges
made against them. One of the *batārs* was charged with the removal
of images and *ṭāṇṭi* and *Sūpa* *Sūtra* works and other religious literature
from the *pāṭṭi* *vāṭṭi* were deposited behind the *Sarad* *pūṭṭi*.
The same *batār* was also charged with communicating with the
enemy and is stated to have escaped when summoned by the king.

The duties of these servants were defined very clearly so that
there could be no excuse for their neglect or quarrel arising from any
misunderstanding. Yet quarrels were frequent and it cannot be
denied that temple services suffered sometimes as a result of these
differences.

The rules regarding the qualifications for those who performed the *pūjās* were very strict. The priests were required to have studied the *Vedas*, *Āgamas Sūtras* and *niśi bājānīs* under a *guru* and become proficient by examination. They should be above 40 years and should perform *pūjās* only after *śāśna abhiśheka* (initiation in the *śrīkāl pākā* of the Amman temple). A bachelor or widower and people who were lame or short of limbs or who otherwise suffered from any disease should not perform the *pūjās*. The *parichāraṇas* should have undergone *dikṣā* and the *śaṣṭhāṣṭhī* must have had *śamaya dīkṣā*. The *śāśna abhiśheka* seems to have been one of the main ceremonies for appointment as the first *niśi bājā* or *sthānika* which office seems to have been held by the two *battars* in rotation for a term. The *battar* was had to perform the *abhiśheka* for his term had to pay certain fees which were perhaps of the nature of licence fees. Very often in later years there were frequent quarrels between the two *battars* over his *abhiśheka* and Tirumala Nayaka appears to have cut the Gordian knot by requiring the two *battars* to pay the fees and both to undergo *abhiśhekas*. The *battars* should do the *pūjās* only on behalf of the king and the *dāśarājy*. *Pūjās* for other people should be done only with the permission of the palace. The offerings made by the king and *dāśarājy* should be remitted to the temple treasury after deducting one-fifth of the fees for the *namōgyar* and *parichāraṇas*. Offerings collected in *utsavās* and in festivals should be remitted to the palace but offerings in kind should be entered in the accounts and remitted to the temple treasury.

The *pradēśi mūrtis* seems to have been an old institution dating back to Pāṇḍya days, when they acted as the *guru pākā* of the *gṛha*. They had *dikṣā* and performed *pittabhiśheka* were brahmins and resided in the *mūṭha*. They had the *Prachīna Madurai* and were one of the *sthānikas* of the temple committee.

This account of the temple servants would show that they were a well-organised body devoted to the safeguarding of the monastic and temple property and zealous in carrying out the daily *pūjās* and other festivals according to the *āgamas* and *sāstras*. Personal prejudices and influences were prevented by vesting in a body of respectable *sthānikas* the conduct of the material affairs of the temple. The spiritual and *āgamic* requirements for the worship of the deities and for the numerous *utsavās* were adequately looked after by the *battars*.

assisted by the *Mukurtāvadanti*, the *Āgamācārya* and the *Silpācārya*. Music and dancing were two of the essential requirements in temple services. *Vedaparāwana* Brahmans and *Oṁkārs* provided the sacred hymns while *Melakkāras* and *Devadāsīs* performed the music and the dances. The *devadāsīs* belonged to distinct classes like *Dāsīs*, *Nāṭakācārya*, *veppin* and *Rudrakannin*. The *Rudrakannin* enjoyed higher privileges and actually helped in the *yōgasatā* and also took part in certain festivals.

The king was closely concerned with the affairs of the temple and, in the conduct of its business. He granted lands not only for his *waṭṭat*, but also for the expenses of the accommodation *puṭṭa* and *śrāvāṭa* and the payment of *ṭaṭṭavāṭa*. He presented to the temple many jewels and *śūbhāras* and constructed or renovated many structures in the temple. He also instituted festivals and ordered the routes through which temple processions should be taken. He appointed his own *kūṭiguru* and *Rājakara Muddirai* to look after the temple *kottabai* and supervise the temple worship generally. The *Rajakara Muddirai* was a member of the committee of *śūbhakars*. The king took part in many temple festivals as for instance at the annual, corollary ceremonies of *Māṭkai* and *Sēṭṭa* even are also a sort of temple festivals marking the *Tirumayōḍai* festivals. The *Sēṭṭa* gives an insight of occasions when the order settled disputes between the *butṭars* or other temple servants.

3. PUJAS

The temple *pūjā* fall under three categories namely, *nitya pūjā* which are done daily, *māsa vīśeṣa* which are performed once a month and biweekly *āṇḍa vīśeṣa* or festivals which are celebrated once a year. The expenses for these were borne by the temple itself from the income of lands owned by it or from the many endowments and grants made to it by the rulers or the public.

Daily *pūjā* are offered according to the *āgamic śāstras* and are practically the same as they are in many Śaiva temples. The ritual today is practically what it has been for hundreds of years past.

Seven main shrines where daily *pūjā* were offered are mentioned in the *Śrī* *śāstra* and in the early records of British administration. These shrine refer to Sundaresvara and *Māṭkai* shrines, *Siddhā Vināyakar*,

according to the *uttama*, *madhyama*, *adhama* and *adhamādhama* classes mentioned in the *sastras* and for performing the *abhishhekas* *jaba-labas* and for paying the customary fees to the *nambiyar* and *śilpāchari*. This account should be submitted to the king and after obtaining his consent, they should perform the necessary rituals in the *śilpa* 'manava'.

4. ANNUAL FESTIVALS

Many festivals of the Madurai temple have an ancient tradition behind them. For instance the *Tiruvetāra* festival during the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* which is one of the chief festivals at the present day is recorded on the *Panipattal*¹. Medieval Pāṇḍya epigraphs from the Madurai temple mention the *Avinthiruvāḷ* and the *Tiruppuṭṭiruvāḷ* as festivals in the month of *Aṣṣaṭṭi*².

According to the *Saṅgams* the *Māi* (February-March) festival and *maṇḍi* festival seem to have been celebrated from the immemorial time by ear festival also was held similarly from ancient times. The *Aṇṇaḍi* festival and the *Aṇṇan Kola* or *Darbār* are observed in the Pāṇḍya times. During Kṛṣṇadeva Raya's time the *Āḍi* festival for *Aṇṇan* was inaugurated. During the time of Tirumala Nāyaka under the administration of Ayyā Nāṭhan, grandson of Appayya Nāṭhan, the *Tirupitāṇḍal* festivals were instituted, as also the *Aṇṇa Mūṇḍi*³, *Cūṭa* and *Vaṅkai Vāṇṇa* festivals held in the *Padu Mandapa*. Tirumala Nāyaka also did the *Vandavur Teppakkulam* and originated the big floating festival. During the time of Maraganaḷ the *Ōṇal* festival in *Āṇi* and the *Kārttiṅga* festival were founded. The *Kōḍal* or summer festival in *Faṅgani* is celebrated in the *Veṅṇambalam*. So from Tirumala's time festivals are celebrated all the twelve months of the year⁴. This was continued by the Carṇāṭaka or Muslim rulers.

1. *Panipattal*, ii, 74-79.

2. *M.E.R.* 278 and 281 of 1942.

3. Since the *Āṇṇa* festival is mentioned in medieval epigraphs, Tirumala may have revived the old festival or observed the old festival on a grander scale.

4. The *Śaṅgama* works state that Madurai was famed for the unceasing celebration of festivals. But there is at present no definite information about the festivals observed in the Madurai temple during the Śaṅgama age.

The annual festivals seem to have continued to be observed in the same manner during the years following the Nayaka rule. An early British record for Fush 1212 (1802 A.D.), bears giving the names of the festivals gives in detail their expenses also. The annual festivals mentioned below are from this record.

The *Citta* festival during April-May opens with the reading of the new year's almanac when a pair of *dhols*, costing about Rs. 3 was presented to the *Jotushar*. The main festival was the *Tirukkalyāṇa* celebrate for ten days and concluding with the *Uggar* festival. On the sixth day of the festival is celebrated the victory of Sanbharāsi over the Jains. On the seventh day *Kankālanā* or *akre* goes in procession through the streets. On the eighth day is celebrated the *Pattābhishēkam* of *Murākaḷi Arman*.

MINAKSHI'S PATTABHISHEKAM It seems to have been the custom for the rulers of the land to participate in the ceremony. The *Sritala* manuscripts trace the history and give a lengthy description of the ceremony during Taimala Nāvaka's time. They give a picture of royal pomp and pageantry and also extend to reveal a facet of temple administration.

Till the year S. 1544 (1622 A.D.) it was the custom for the kings to place the sceptre before their family deity and take it from there back during Taimala Nāvaka's days when many new festivals were introduced and celebrated on a large scale a change was made in the celebration of the *Pattābhishēkam* festival. On that day the *sthānika*s and *battars* went to the palace and intimated the king who thereupon had his ceremonial bath and after fasting for the day, used to go to the temple in the evening when the God and Goddess would be seated on a throne in the *Arakāl pitha* of the Amman shrine.

At the temple the day would start with the *Arumanyāna* or the *abhaya* which would be taken in a procession with many orches and dancing girls singing and dancing and with the music of pipe and drums. Then *gambhīra* the officiating priest, would perform the *pūjā* according to the *Āgama*s. The seven *sthānika*s would open the sealed chest in the *karnabul-mand* and take out the coronation crown, the sceptre and the five seals of office which they would place on a special plate and go in procession to the Amman Sannidhi where after the *namō* had

finches and two the two *bastars* would each place the crown and the crown on the Godless. After the *nabbanu* the *kattiyams* (Heralds) would go to the palace and inform the king. The king would, thereupon mount the State elephant and seat himself on a jewelled throne under a golden canopy (howdah) carried by six richly caparisoned elephants. He would go in procession to the temple accompanied by 72 paligars and their huge fully armed retinue to the music of 18 different instruments. Brahmans torch lights and fire works would illuminate the processions. Many dancing girls would provide dance performances on the way. The splendour of the procession, says the book, cannot be adequately described. Arriving at the temple, Perumal Nāvika would proceed with all his retinue to the *Annam Sannam āraṇḍi pāṭu*. Immediately *diparādina* would appear and he would inform the Goddess and after the king had done so the two *bastars* would offer him *uḥḥaṭṭi pūṣṭā* and the *ninnamṭar* of the big garland and the twin garland which was the Godless was taken. Thereafter they would place *ādina* and the coronated head dress (*prattā*) on the king's head. After which they would give him the sceptre. Following this, the *śāṇḍak* would be offered *uḥḥaṭṭi pūṣṭā* and *cuṇḍana* and given the respective seats of office. The seats of office were *Makam Muddirai*, *Mikina Kōṭi Pannalūṭṭai*, *Veṇṇabhaṭṭi muddirai* and *Naga muddirai*. After the elevation of the seats they would proceed with the king to the *Sannam Gopura* where the king would mount a elephant again. The *śāṇḍak* and the *bastars* would get into palinqueurs and a lion would be mounted and horses and goat State processions would be given. After going round the town the king would arrive in a hall before the *Āṭṭāṇa Mandapa* of the palace. A throne would be placed in this hall decorated *Āṭṭāṇa Mandapa*. The sceptre would now be placed on the throne. The king remaining seated with the *śāṇḍak*, *Narvelva* and *diparādina* would be seated on the sceptre. The *Leṇṇṇṇaṭṭi Dattad* and the police and the *śāṇḍak* would then inform the king of the *kāṇḍal* or what the king would do. After that he would go to the two *bastars* and show and give them the *śāṇḍak*. Customary processions would be given and the proper place *Dubbai*. The king would then proceed to the *uḥḥaṭṭi* of the hall and attend to the *śāṇḍak* in the hall. Thereafter the palace dignitaries and prayers would be given and after which only the king would retire to his private

apartments. By this time it would be day dawn and *payas* would now be offered to the *scapire* which till now had remained on the *lance*. It would then be taken back in procession to the temple. In this way the coronation of the Amman was used to be celebrated in the month of *Citra*. During *Māgama*'s reign difficulties arose because being a woman she could not take part personally. *Battays* or other representatives took part and the ceremony lost much of its pomp. A similar ceremony was held for God *Succesvara* and the Godless in the *Svām* *Sannidhi* *Arudra* *pittha* on the seventh day festival in the month of *Āṣāḍi*. But during this festival the *scapire* would remain in the palace on the following day also. On the eighth day when the *Pittukku* *Man* *Sumantadu* festival was celebrated the king would proceed in procession with the *scapire* to the *Pittutoppu* where a symbolic ceremony reenacting the legend would be held.

On the ninth day of the *Citra* festival *Minākshi's* *Digvijaya* was celebrated with the God and Godless seated in the *Indra* *Vimānam*. On the tenth day *Minākshi's* marriage was celebrated. The entries in the record are interesting. It mentions $3\frac{1}{2}$ in pagodas weight of gold for *Minākshi's* *turamangalam* valued at 5 *caikrams* (about Rs. 12), was given to the goldsmith who was paid a wage of 15 (about 4 as). The *Srihahmanyasvāmi* from *Tirupparankunram* was brought to *Madurai* for the marriage and the *sthalatār* of that temple were paid a customary fee of 5 rs. The record mentions in detail the various customary fees paid to the temple servants during this festival. The big car was prepared and a number of artisans like the mason, carpenter, blacksmith and painters were employed, for the purpose. Many of the articles for the car had to be brought from *Tirupparankunram*. Among other things the account mentions a sheep for *bali*. The *saptavarṇa* *cappaya* festival and the *Citra* *pournama* *utsava* were also celebrated.

In *Vaiśāk* (May-June) *Vasantotsava* was celebrated for ten days. This took place in the *Pudu* *Māndapa*. One of the items of expenditure mentioned was the hire fee of 2 ch. paid to the *lotion* mason) for fixing the canopy. The record mentions a *Paṭṭakkoc* *Vasanta* *Utsavam* for one day and a *Tiruvananthai* *Vasanta* *Utsavam* also for one day besides a ' *Vasantoc* *chupparam* '.

The *ujai utsava* was the highlight of the *Adi* (June-July) *kattai*. This festival which was celebrated for 10 days had no processions in the outer streets. The *Uttara Nakshatra* *utsava* was also performed in the month. The *Mulakkotta Tiruvilā* and the *chuttai* were the main celebrations in the *Adi* (July-August) month. These also were for ten days. The *Pura Nakshatra* was celebrated. New account for the year seems to have been started from this month as the record mentions the expenses of a *puga* for the purpose.

The *Āvanti* month (August-September) opens with *Vindhyaka Catvāri* in which the Mukkuram Pillayar occupies the limelight. This is followed by the important eighteen-day *Āvanti Mūla* festival. Many incidents from the *Tiruvilāyādal* legends are enacted during the different days of the festival. These culminate with the *Pittukku man unnamu tala* in the *Pittutalappu* when the largest part in the festival. The account includes an expense of eight annas paid to bearers for carrying the 48 images of the *Sargam* *Ar*.

The ten-day *Navarātri* festival is the most important in the month of *Faṭṭān* (September-October). The expenses include fees paid to decorators including one to tailors for pith flowers, *svatantra* for *battam* and Brahmins for ten days' *atankara* of the Amman and presents to dancing girls. The *Dasara* seems to have been celebrated at the two Hanuman temples at North Gate and Main Guard Gate and also at the *Vyasasaya* Hanuman temple.

In *Aippasi* (October-November) *Bharani nakshatra utsavam* for *Bharava* was celebrated but the festival of the month was the *Dipdasa* for which oil for *abhishēka* and clothes for all the shrines, main and subsidiary, in the temples and those in the neighbourhood were bought. The accounts give full details of these purchases. *Pura nakshatra utsava* was done in a similar manner as for *Adi Pura*. The *Faṭṭavāsara* for five days and *Skandavāshti* at the Subrahmanya Svāmi shrine were also performed during the month.

The *Kārttiṅgai* month (November-December) is noted for the *Dipdasa* when the expenses included fees for building the *Chockapanay* and burning it. *Kārttiṅgai Samarāna* was observed. The *Kārttiṅgai* festival runs for ten days and includes the *Tiruvilāyādal* legends of the unpalement of Jaina *Abhiśēkas* were done for the 63 saints *Aruvattumozar*, and the *karnam* who read out their names was paid two *janams* or about eight annas.

The *Mārgaṣīrṣī* (December-January, festival included the *Dharmamūla* puja for thirty days and the *Ārudra nakṣatras* festival for one day. Ten days were devoted to *Mānukavācakaṭa utasas* and one day for the *Rāṭna* festival when dancing girls took part in a sort of maypole dance. The *nattuvan* and the dancing girls were paid about five rupees each.

A number of festivals were celebrated in *Tai* (January-February). *Makara Santhodasi* was observed and *māṭṭu-pongal* also for which customary fees were paid to the cow-keepers. A ten day *utasa* for *Śaṅkaramma Durga* was held. An entry in the accounts mentions a fee paid to "opening the eyes of the Parahm". It is not clear what is meant by this. A buffalo seems to have been sacrificed and for this ceremony fish, mutton, eggs and liquor were bought in addition to the usual articles of puja. The main festival of the month was the *Tēppu* at the Vandavur or Māṭiyamman Tēppakulam. A number of artisans and articles are mentioned for buying and decorating the floating *chappam* and these give information about the colours used and the mode of dyeing adopted in those days. The *Tiruvaiyāṭal* legends enacted during this festival included the defeat of the Jains and the killing of the *Mūṇa* elephant.

The *Māṣīrṣī* month (February-March) started with the *Śivāratri*. New clothes were bought for and the deities. The *mandala utasava* which was held for a period of forty days started in this month and as usual for every other festival this account mentions the customary fees paid to temple servants.

The *Puṅguṇī* (March-April) festival was a ten day affair known as the *Vaṭaṇa Uṭṭasam*. This month the God and Goddess went to Tirupparankunram for the marriage of Subrahmaṇya Svāmī.

TEMPLE HONOURS

The temple observed etiquette as much as the royal court and had its own form of honouring its devotees. The honour shown to the king when he attended the coronation ceremonies in *Chāṭa* and *Āṣāṣī* months were a *Chāṭa* and a *megamūṇa* (blue) silk *paṇṇavāla*. The same honours were observed when he took part in the arrow-shooting or

took part in the *Tiruvattai* legends relating to the *māya* *paṣu* or snake sent by the Jains. When the king attended the temple for worship on ordinary days the *raṭra* and the silk were brought with him from the palace and these were used and sent back. If *śṛṅgāḥ* from other temples or *śrīdāṣ*, or dance masters visited the temple or held discourses the temple authorities after taking the permission of the palace would tie a single cloth *paṇṇalla*. If Subrahmanyaśvāmī or Māṇḍikāyārakāṭ attended the *Cera* or *Āṇam* māt festival a red silk *paṇṇalla* would be used. On the occasion when a *nambī* or *śṛṅgāḥ* was newly appointed to fill a vacancy he would be honoured with a silk *śṛṅgāḥ* *paṇṇalla*. *Rudrakāṣṭh* on initiation should have their *śṛṅgāḥ* tied by the *nambī* in the *Śvāmī* shrine *āṇḍāḍi* *pūṭha* and after *dhī* *hā* should be honoured with a red silk *paṇṇalla*. After this initiation she should not mix with *Sudras*. For the *devadās* one of the *patṭars* should tie the *paṇṇalla* before the *Navakāṭ* *Sāṁdā* and honour them by a five cubit long *paṇṇalla*. The same honour was done to the *nāṭyaṇ* also. For the *Pāṇṇā* *Bāṭṭar* who took part in the *kāṭi* *āṇḍāḍi* *hā* one cloth *paṇṇalla* was tied and for the man who carried the inexhaustible paṇḍy bundle (*maṭṭāḍi* *hāṭṭar*) a red cloth was tied.

An inventory of coins which remained in the treasury of the temple at the time when the British took over the administration (about 1802) gives a cross section of the currency in use. The following coins are noted: *Star* *Pagoda*, *P.N. Pagoda*, *Bahadary Pagoda*, *Cull* *Cakrams*, *Contarey*, *New Veroy chs*, *Old Veroy chs*, *Gopaul chs*, *Mvely fanams*, *Company rupees*, *New P Rupees*, *Arcot rupees*, *Sultanny rupees*, *Old P Rupees*, *Anay cash*, and *Chalara cash*. The values of these are variously given but the currency in use at the time seems to have been *fanams* and *cull* *cakrams*. According to the *Madras Manual of Administration* a *cull* *cakram* was equal to 13 *fanams* and was worth about Rs. 2-12.

The details about temple administration, *pūja* and festivals, except where noted specially, refer to the practice obtaining in the *Navaka* and post-*Navaka* periods and the years immediately following the assumption of the administration by the British in 1801.

They have no reference to the administrative system or to the mode of conducting festivals in the present day.

F. TEMPLES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The Kudal Alagar Temple.

The Kudal Alagar Temple which is to the south-west of the Minākshi Temple possesses an ancient tradition as the older temple. It has its own *Sthālapurāṇa* called the *Kudal Purāṇam*.

The deity of the temple is called Kudal Alagar and is installed in sitting posture in the lowest storey, in reclining posture in the second storey and in standing posture in the third storey of the *Vimāna*. It may be recalled here that the deity in the Vāṅkura-nāḥavāna temple at Conjeevaram is also in the three postures of sitting, reclining and standing in three tiers of the sanctum.

Unity and simplicity combined with elegance is the keynote of the architectural style of this temple. Unlike the Minākshi temple with its many lofty *gopuras*, towering above the central shrine, the outer *gopuras* of the Kudal Alagar temple are subordinated to the beautiful central *Vimāna* which is called the *Aṣṭāṅga Vimāna*. The *vimāna* rises from a square basement in the shape of a perfect pyramid and is capped by a circular cupola, with a pointed golden stupid top. The general style of the architecture of this temple seems to be of the Vijayanagar period. A noticeable feature is the number of tiers or top of the *karnakutais*, *pancharams* and *śāntas* which make each of them like a complete miniature shrine by itself. The same treatment is noticeable on *kumbhapanjarams*. The *kantha* of the *upapitha* is divided into a great number of panels carved in low relief illustrating Vālmāyā legends. On the walls of the *garbhagriha* there are beautifully decorated pierced stone windows.

There are a number of portrait sculptures in the temple probably representing some of the Vijayanagara viceroys. Their identity is not clear at present. On the ceilings of a *mandapa* with finely polished black stone pillars there is some carved wood work. The wooden ceiling, however, is in a neglected state and many of its carvings are missing. There is, however, a small panel of Rāma Parābhīṣhekam which is beautifully carved and worth noticing.

In the early years of the present century the Amman shrine of this temple was pulled down and completely renovated. Many of the inscribed slabs of this shrine were heaped in a corner of the nearby Madanagopalasvami temple. Subsequently they appear to have been either misplaced or lost.

The Vijayanagara rulers and their officials appear to have made liberal contributions to the temple as borne out by many of the epigraphs found in this temple. A record of Ranganaja Vithaladeva Maharaja (reigned S 1469-1547 A.D.) states that Kanuāḍai Koramman supplied stones for building the *aithu manḍapa* of the temple and that the work was commenced during the administration of Immudi Yelappa Nayakkar.¹

The temple seems to have suffered during the various sieges of Madurai in the 18th century. Its outer walls bear marks of gun shots.

The *teppakulam* of the temple is at a little distance to the north.

THE MADANAGOPALASVAMI TEMPLE is very near to the Keral Agastya temple. Its *vimāna* is a fine piece of architecture. The high circular *gupa* on its own *adhishṭhānam* is a feature worth noting. The present *vimāna* is a restored one but the restoration follows closely the original structure. A picture of the *vimāna* before restoration may be seen in Norman Brown's book "A Pillared Hall". The *upapitha* below the *kapota* is under the present ground level. On the walls of the *aithu manḍapa* there are many *Ramāyana* panels in low relief, but the work is not of a very high order. Many parts of the temple are in a bad state of preservation.

THE NANMAITARUVAR TEMPLE which is also close by is connected with some of the *titans* in the Madurai *Thrupaṭṭavāḍai*. The deity is called *Ṭṇṇuvā Nanmai aruvār* and is said to have been set up at Niduvār and worshipped by God Sundaresvara Himself when He ruled as the Pandya king in Madurai. The present temple does not

1. M.E.R. 337 of 1911.

2. W. Norman Brown, *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madurai*, 1946.

can an ancient vesicles though renovators appear to have attempted to conform to the earlier forms. The outer *gopura* has at present no brick superstructure. The stone case might be assigned to about late 16th c. architecturally. On the ceiling inside the entrance of the *gopura* there is a panel of faded and discoloured painting. The stone beam has a beautiful carving of a lake scene with birds, boatmen and lotuses and recalls the painting in Sattanra-vasal.

THE TEN TIRUVALAVAYUDAIYAR AND VADA TIRU-VALAVAYUDAIYAR temples are also connected with the Tamil-*aiyalar* legends. Both are small temples. Except perhaps the *garbhagriha*, which may roughly be assigned to the late 16th c. AD, the former has no vestiges of older structures. The base of the *garbhagriha* has a high *upana* and a chanfered *kumudam* above which are a *karthi* with lotus medallions and an *agrapattiyal*. The other temple which is now generally called Palaya Cokkarāra Temple is an entirely modern structure built during the early years of the present century.

TEMPLES TO VIRABHADRA are uncommon in the Tamil country. There are many sculptures of Virabhadra in the Minākshi Temple. There is also a Virabhadra temple in the West Main Street. The worship of Virabhadra was probably patronised and popularised by the Vijayanagara and Nayaka rulers who were Telugus and were worshippers of this deity.

THE SELLATTAMMAN DURGA TEMPLE is to the north of the city and is believed to be Kālī, one of the guardian deities of Madurai city, mentioned in early works.

THE TIRUVAPPUDAIYAR TEMPLE on the northern bank of the Vaigai has an ancient history. It has a *sthatapūvāra*. The older name of the place is Tiruvāppanur. The temple is mentioned in the *Devarānam*. A few bulbous capital pillars with large abacus and square base may be seen in the temple. The corbels are of a later rounded type. Some of the *utapa* images in the temple are good specimens of early metal work.

Tirupparankunram

Tirupparankunram which is four miles to the south-west of Madurai is famous for its Subrahmanya temple which is one of the six *padavinayam* sacred to God Maruga. The temple is at the foot of the hill which rises to a height of 1048 feet. From early times the hill has been regarded as a holy place by the Hindus and by people of other sects. There are evidences that the hill has been resorted to by Jains in the earlier centuries by the Hindus from very early times and by the Muhammadans also for a considerable time. The Hindus regard the whole of the hill as the sanctum and it is not herefore circumambulate the hill. At the top of the hill is a tomb stated to be that of a Muslim Fakir. The tomb is visited by Muhammadan pilgrims who call the hill *Skandamalai*. The Hindus call it *Skandamalai* or the hill of Skanda.

The Jain vestiges are on the western slope of the hill where there are some "Pancha Pāndava" beds in two natural caverns with a short Brahmi inscription. Further evidences of Jain association are on the southern face of the hill where near a natural spring known as the Sāravati Tirtha two panels of Jain figures are carved on an overhanging boulder. The first panel has a standing image of a Jain Tirthankara probably. Two women attendants are on either side of him and two cows flank the figure below its knees. The other panel has a similar standing figure with a five-hooded serpent over head with garlands on umottala about it. This carving probably represents Pārivanātha.

Brahmanic sculptures are found a little way further to the south-west near the *Kōstirika*. The images of Siva, Vināyaka, Subrahmanya, Bhairava and Visālākṣhī are sculptured in low relief in five different poses on a boulder here. There are two other rock-cut Hindu shrines. One is on the southern side of the hill and is called Umayyāndan Koyil and the other is the well-known Subrahmanya temple at the northern foot of the hill¹.

¹ The rock-cut caves and carvings in the Subrahmanya temple and also at Umayyāndan are described in Chapter IV, Section B 2 (iv).

A striking feature of the Subrahmanya temple is the number of *mandapas* which rise one above the other to the level of the rock-out sanctum itself. The *mandapa* immediately in front of the sanctum may be said to correspond to the *ardhamandapa*. It is in the Masurai style and was perhaps built by Tirumala Nayaka, whose statue is carved on one of the pillars here. Next to this *mandapa* is the *Alahamandapa* and further on at a lower level is the large *Kamballadi Mandapa*. There are two unidentified Nayaka figures in this *mandapa* but the two most interesting sculptures are those of Parāśara and Vedavyāsa. The sculpturing is probably that of a master hand. The characteristics are remarkable: the features have very little conventionalism. In the adjacent *Shanmukha Mandapa* are two other portrait statues of deities probably. Lower down than the *Kamballadi Mandapa* is the *Tiruvadi Mandapa*. The entrance steps to this *mandapa* have beautifully carved horse palustrades with wheels behind the animals. These probably originally belonged to some other structure and might have been put in use as the most convenient place. Otherwise one can account for the wheels occupying so high a position. The pillars in this *mandapa* carry many sculptures relating to the *Tirumala-Nātha Purāṇa*. Prominent among these are Śiva feeding the pigs, the pigs sucking the deer, Mārkaṇḍeya's *digvijaya* and marriage, Jyādeva and an Urdhvar. The Urdhvar is a powerful ten-armed, sculpture with two figures of Śurya and Chandra in medallions above the *prabhavali*. The marriage panel is not a good piece of work but Mārkaṇḍeya's *digvijaya* seems to be better. The entire story from the killing of the pig, the treading of the pig-nogs and their subsequent life as ministers is carved. The Jyādevavar follows the usual type of three-armed figure but the exception is the axe in the back right hand. On the same level of the *Tiruvadi Mandapa* is the *Vasantha Mandapa* and the tank. In a passage leading to the *Vasantha Mandapa* are four figures of *Aṣṭasaktis*. The other four images are missing. In the *Vasantha Mandapa* are two finely carved identical figures of which one is stated to be that of Muttambala Mudalar. The *mandapa* also contains wooden images of some of the deities in the temple. These are stated to have been made when the temple underwent renovation and worship was offered to these wooden images. Whatever their origin may be they are today rare specimens of wooden images and so have to be taken care of. They are carved

from the *Kutatti* (*Ficus religiosa*), a tree which abounds in the locality. The unages represent two kneeling *duṣṭrapālakas*, and a seated *Sūrahmanya* which is placed on a high pedestal. The pedestal has an elephant and a hippogriff at the corners with two *ganas* between them and in the bottom panel are a peacock and a cock, the symbols of *Sūrahmanya*. Next to this group is a figure of Durgā standing over a buffalo's head and next to that a *Vighrīsvara*.

In front of the *Tiruvāṭi Mandapa* is the *gopura* of the temple. It is a seven-storied structure. The *gopura* base which is square is two-storied and is a typical *Vijayanagara* specimen. Its *kūṭa* *panatams* and *śīḷas* stand out well from the wall surface. The wall surfaces have wall pilasters and short pilastered wall niches without niche openings. The order is repeated in the storey above. The projecting bays carry a smaller projection in front of their own wall surfaces. Altogether it is a well-proportioned structure. Instead of the usual *Gangā-Yamuna* motif there are two figures of deities or devotees in their place on the door jambs. From two inscriptions in the *gopura* dated S 1505 (1583 A.D.)¹, it is learnt that the *gopura* and the wall (*īrappadi*) were built by Kṛṣṇa Virappa Nayaka the grandson of Viśvanātha Nayaka.

A third inscription² in the *gopura* states that Kṛṣṇa Virappa built a *kalmuṭa* near the *gopura* and set up in it the image of Ganeśa (*Aṅgata*) for the merit of Viśvanātha Nayaka who was an ardent devotee of *Sokkanātha*. There is at present a temple of *Sokkanātha* in the *Sannidhi* Street with a large *mandapa* in front of it where sculptures of Ganeśa in various forms are found. There are also images of *Indra* and *Ganeśa* in the *Svāmī* shrine here. At the entrance to the *Svāmī* shrine here are two figures of *Nayakas*. The *kalmuṭa* mentioned in the inscription may be a reference perhaps to this *Sokkanātha* temple though its precise location according to the inscription is not certain.

Crossing this *gopura* one enters the *Aśvāna Mandapa*. This is the entrance *mandapa* to the temple and is a very impressive building. The front pillars carry equestrian figures in the central

1. M.E.R. 262, 263 of 1942.

2. M.E.R. 264 of 1942.

members. The two corner pillars carry sculptures of Subrahmanya and Suran, each standing within a pavilion. Between these and the equestrian pillars is a *yātri* pillar on either side. The sculpturing is not of the high standard of the *Pudu Mandapa* but the array of pillars on a high base is impressive. The *mandapa* carries a heavy cornice with a gaily painted parapet ornamented above it. The interior of the *mandapa* measures 116 feet by 94 feet with 48 *apollonic* pillars, each about 25 feet high. The pillars which carry a full complement of bracketed capitals are sculpture 1 with many corographic figures. Among the figures in the *mandapa* are Nataraja, Mūlakshi, Patanjali, Vvāghrapāda, Ulliyar and Kāu. The sculpture of Subrahmanya as Devaseena Kāśhānamurti which is in the central nave of this hall needs special mention as it is a particularly fine piece of work and looks almost like that of Mūlakshi. Sun laresvara's marriage in the Madurai temple. A statue of queen Mangammāl identical with that in the *Nagarā Mandapa* at Madurai is on one of the pillars of the central nave in the *Āsthāna Mandapa*. The presence of this statue here leads one to infer that this *mandapa* may have been built during her reign.

During the military campaigns of the 18th c. the temple appears to have been used as a hospital for some time and is referred to as a "Rest House". One account says that "The hospital was in a great Rest House wherein were at least 300 sick people. I have never seen such a beautiful Rest House. It is all of hewn stone. The roof also of broad hewn stones, which are well fitted together, is supported upon a number of splendid pillars covered with carved figures. At the entrance one sees a crowd of lions and horses with riders all carved in stone. It is lofty, wide and long, but as one can come in only by the courtyard it was very unsual hy for the sick"¹. The above account evidently refers to the *Āsthāna Mandapa*.

During the several sieges of Madurai in this period Triappoorkurram appears to have served as an outpost and a military camping ground. An inscription² in the temple dated in S 1724 (1743 A.D.) belonging to the reign of a certain Hazarat Kephāl Nohab Sahib,

1. *Gruchichte der Missionen*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 366

2. M.E.R. 261 of 1942.

states that a European regiment camped near Tirupparankunram, and did much damages to the temple. They demolished the Sekkianatha temple and the Palanivāndavan temple, occupied the town, entered the *Ankha Mandapa*, forced their way through the black-and-white entrance of the *gopura*, and proceeded towards the *Kavāna Mandapa*. At this juncture the various *sthānikas* of the temple, wishing to save the temple and the town, requested Kuttu, the son of Vayirava Mutu Karuppan, to sacrifice his life. According to Kuttu ascended the *gopura* fell from there as a protest against the demolition of the temples. The European regiment that withdrew. As a reward a *vattakkāṇikai* was granted to Kuttu's descendants. Another inscription probably of about the same date also refers to a similar incident and mentions that a *vattakkāṇ* was granted to the descendants of one Andarābarata Mudali, the son of Eulappa Mudali for having fallen from the *gopura* and sacrificed his life.

Archaeologically the Tirupparankunram hill and its temple afford interesting study since its shrines range from the 7th. to 8th centuries to late Nayaka structures. The rock-cut shrines and bas-reliefs may be dated about the 7th or 8th centuries. Of mediaeval, Pandya structure there are but many examples and the images are confined to the few pillars with early capitals, for instance in the sanctum are four pillars with 13th c. corbels. Corbels of the early 14th c. type with undeveloped *pushpabodiga* are at the entrance to the *Kambattadi Mandapa*. Two corbels of the later 14th century type with *pushpabodiga* just developing are at the entrance to the *Maha Mandapa*. The *mandapas* themselves belong to the Madurai or Nayaka period while the *gopura* is of the late Vijayanagara period.

Alagarkoyil

About 12 miles north of Madurai is the Kallalagar temple in a wide expanse of hilly country. The temple is flugged on the northern and western sides by the hill which bears the deity's name. The place seems to have been once a prosperous village. The temple and the village were surrounded by a high-walled fort which no doubt was built by some ruler in early times who valued the strategic position of the place. The temple and the ruined

fort walls are the only remains now standing. The village has entirely disappeared leaving only mounds of ruins on either side of the roadway.

One enters the village by the south fort gate. The first object to attract one's attention at the entrance is the *Vināyaka* shrine known as the *Alankāra Vināyaka*. The surprise and reverence of the shrine intensifies as one finds more *Saiva* images and shrines within the main temple itself. The temple is entered by the Hieronym gate which is in the south wall of the outer *prākāra* and in a line with the south fort gate. Entering the outer *prākāra* by this gate one finds to the east of it a large mound of ruins below which is stated to be buried an ancient *Subrahmanya* shrine.

The main entrance to the temple is the *padinetāmbadi vāsai* which is on the eastern wall of the third *prākāra*. This is a five-storied *gopura* with a square base two storeys high. The present structure seems to be a 16th century creation. The *gopura* is remarkable for its clean lines and well-proportioned mass. It is doorway, however, is not ordinarily used by the people. The presiding deity of this *gopura* is known as *Padinetāmbadi Karuppanasāmi* and next to the *Kālāgar* himself is the most venerated deity of the place. Strangely there is no idol to *Karuppanasāmi*. The two doors of the *gopura* are the only symbols used for worshipping him. He is worshipped by the *Kallars* and many litigations are settled by the contesting parties taking oaths before this God.

A smaller doorway to the north of the *padinetāmbadi vāsai* known as the *vandi vāsai* is now used by the pilgrims. A large open court with many *mandapas* is seen as one enters by the *vandi vāsai*. The largest of these *mandapas* is known as the *Kālyāna Mandapa* with its many monolithic sculptured pillars. The pillars are carved with figures of *yātis*, iconographic images and portraits of royal personages. Some of these sculptures are those of *Narasimhāyātāra*, *Lakshmi Varāha*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Garudārūḍa Mahā-śayana*, *Āṅganeya*, *Trivikrama*, *Rāḥi* and *Manmata*. The portrait sculptures are said to represent *Kṛṣṇappa* or *Periya Virappa* and *Vijayanatha II*, who are stated to have been joint rulers of the temple in 1573-1595 A.D. Their identity, however, is not clear. The *mandapa* could be dated architecturally to the 16th century. Dotted about

this large *mandapa* are various other smaller *mandapas*, some of them ranging from early Vijayanagara to the late Vijayanagara periods.

Back of the *Kalyāṇa Mandapa* is the *Tondaimān Gopura*¹ which leads to the third *prākāra* of the shrine. This is a five-storied structure. The base of this *gopura* has an *apāna*, a high *kanna*, a chafered *tore* and an *agrapuṭṭu*. The wall plaisters have square *paṅgaru* and *da*, with a bevel and tenon corbel. The base may be dated about the 13th or 14th century. The brick *śaṭṭa* *śaṭṭa* above is a later addition. On the south side of this *prākāra* which is known as the *Irumala Nayaka prākāra* are a number of shrines dating more or less about the same period as the base of the *Tondaimān Gopura*. The first shrine is the *Ālvār Sannal*, the next one the *Thiavār Sannal* with the *Sudarsana* shrine next to it. In the corner is the *pallyarai*. Four portrait statues are in front of the *Ālvār* shrine. They are two each on either side of the entrance to the shrine. The two figures immediately to the right and left seem to be persons of importance. One of them has the Vijayanagara high cap and a five-row bracelet and is probably a Vijayanagara viceroy. The other one wears a turban and *siṅṅu* and a necklace with a pendant easket like those worn by *Ingāyars*. Similar figures are also seen in the Madurai temple. There are more statues in front of the *pallyarai*. Notable among these is a statue of *Irumala Nayaka* and a sculpture of two figures stated to be those of two soldiers. In the north *prākāra* is the shrine to *Sri Goda* (*Kodamāyaku*). In the pillars opposite to the shrine are more portrait statues which are probably those of Vijayanagara viceroys.

In the north-east corner of this *prākāra* is the *Mettu Krishnan* Shrine with its large seven-aisled *mandapa*. On the south wall of the *mandapa* is an inscription of *Jatavarman Sundara Pandya* I stating that he built this "*Koyl Ponmeynda Perumāl Tiru Mandapam*". The *adusthāna* of the *Mettu Krishnan* shrine have *upāra padmāḍala*, flowered *kamudam*, *kanjam*, and *kapata* above

1. M.E.R. 31 of 1929 states that the *Tondaimān Gopura* was built by *Tondaimān* *Varma* of *Karungarayar* of *Beluvathur*.

2. M.E.R. 34 of 1929.

which the wall pilasters rise. The wall pilasters have a *pushpa-bodagam*. The niche opening has its own corbelled short semi-pilasters surmounted by a *kupola*, pavilion and *salar* roof. The *mandapa* here has a curious medley of pilars ranging from the early conical shaft with bevel and tenon corbel to the later composite cubical pilars with bracketed capitals. Two of the pilars are of an early *gopura* type. Others are of the cubical type with early corbels of bevel and tenon or lotus bud type. A characteristic of one of these improved *mandapas* seems to be that the later type of composite cubical pilars usually flank the nave while the older ones are the earlier types of mixed pilars. This is probably due to the fact that rulers who enlarged an existing smaller *mandapa* into a larger one used the new pilars of the later style in the central nave and the front entrances sometimes. The older pilars of the smaller *mandapa* were used for the side aisles.

The eastern *prākāra* leads to the *Ārya Mandapa* which is another large seven-aisled *mandapa*. This is a characteristic Vijayanagara structure. It has many elegant compound and composite pilars, is a non-based octagonal lubbock capital square *palagai* pilars and its big *man-sala* cornice with simulated timber work under the eaves all bespeak its Vijayanagara origin. Like the *mandapa* of the Meiru Krishnan Koyil this *mandapa* also has a mixed type of pilars, the nave having cubical composite pilars of the 15th century while the side aisles have cubical pilars with lotus bud corbels of 13th or 14th century type and other pilars with *pushpabodagams* of the 17th century.

The *Ārya viśal* in the *Ārya Mandapa* leads to the second *prākāra* surrounding the sancium. Two shrines in this *prākāra* are dedicated to Bhairava or *Aśetrupāla* and Varamburi Vināyaka. *Vibhūti prāśādas* are given in these two shrines.

The *garbhagṛha* has a circular base from which the circular *vimāna* rises. The *garbhagṛha* of this shrine is peculiar in this respect because most of the shrines that have a circular *vimāna* have a square or rectangular base. The ambulatory passage in the Magar temple consequently is circular owing to the shape of its base. The circular *pradakṣinapṛākāra* is called *Nangal*

kunram prākāra and contains a number of finely wrought pierced stone window. Circular or oval *simānas* in Vaishnava temples are usually erected over the *sayana* forms of Vāṇu. But here the image is a standing one.

The *mutapū* in the sanctum is called Sri Paramasvāmī. He is seated on a lotus with Sri Devī and Bru Devī on either side on the same *pīṭha*. The *utṭaray* is called Sri Sūktatārka or Aṅgar. In the sanctum is kept the wooden image of the god, the personal image (an unusually handsome affair lavishly plated with gold), (and) another image, about 15 inches high, made of sandal-wood and most beautifully chased.¹ The last-mentioned image is stated to be made of solid *aparaṇṇi* gold and referred to in the *Nāḍayira Divya Prabhāṇam* as Sri Solaimalakkarasār.

The *vimāna* or top of the *garbhagrāha* is known as the *Somacanda Vimāna*. On the eastern face of it is an arched projecting niche with an image of the God on Garuda Vāhana. On a panel below is a relief of Gajalakshmi. The facade of the projecting arch is an elaborate *yālī* and *makara* motif. Three *stupas* surmount the *utkṛta*. The whole of this *vimāna* is gilded.

The Rayagopura is on the same south exterior wall, as the Hieranyan gate. This *gopura* is in complete ruin now. Between the south wall and that of the temple is the *Vaṇantha Mandapa* which is another old structure which may be dated about the 14th or 15th centuries. This *mandapa* is remarkable for its ceiling paintings relating to the *Rāmāyana* and other Vaishnava episodes. As one of these panels are unfinished one may notice the artist's mode of work. These paintings are almost similar in style to the Tirupparuttikkunram paintings and were probably executed about the same period.

Tirumūrtinjolai or Alagarmalai has been reputed as a place of great sanctity from ancient times. Natural caverns or *peṭṭi* hills appear to have been used as resorts by Buddhists and Jains as well as Hindu ascetics. One such natural cavern has been discovered

1 W. Francis *Madurai District Gazetteer*, p. 284.

with *panca pandara* beds, and Brahmi inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd centuries B.C. as well as a Vatteluttu inscription of about the 9th c. A.D. mentioning the famous Jaina teacher Ajjanandi.¹

Sangam works call the hill variously as *Māi kuram*, *Tirumāi kuram*, and mention shrines to Vishnu, Balarama and Subrahmanya on the hill. Balarama worship has now become extinct in the Tamil country. The site of the ancient Subrahmanya shrine on the hill is not traceable at present. In the *Tirumaturugōrup-padu* Nakkarar refers to Tirumāhuranjola: as *Paramudisota*, one of the six abodes or *padams* of Muruga. From the available evidences it may be inferred that Alagarmalai must have been a Saivite centre before it was changed into a Vaishnavite one "because (a) the presiding deity is known only as Paramasvāman in inscriptions (b) there are shrines to Vighnesvara and *kōṭeyapōta* in the temple where the *pradam* is still the sacred ashes, (c) there are shrines for all the minor deities of the Saivite hierarchy within the fort and (d) much importance is attached to Karuppanna sanctum near which a Saccāramanya shrine is also said to have existed."²

The Vishnu temple at Alagarhoyil is considered to be one of the 108 sacred Vaishnava shrines, of which eighteen are in the Pandya country. All the Vaishnava Ālvāra have visited this temple and six of them³ have sung 123 *padams* in praise of the deity here.

The temple contains a large number of inscriptions of which the earliest is dated in the 23rd year of Rajaraja Chōla I.⁴ A study of these epigraphs would show that from the time of the mediaeval Pandyas the temple has enjoyed the continuous patronage of the various dynasties which ruled over the Madurai country. Māra-varman Sundara Pandya I and Jātāvarman Sundara Pandya I made many benefactions to the temple. The Hoysala Vira Somesvara (1234-1264 A.D.), the *māmad* of Māra-varman Sundara Pandya II inscribed the "Pozala Vira Somidevan Sandi" in the temple.⁵

1. V. Venkaṭasubba Aiyar : *Alagarhoyil Inscriptions*, Q. J. M. S., Vol. XXVII, p. 125.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 125.

3. Periyālvār, Anda, Tirumangu Alvar, Bhōtātālvār, Peyālvār and Nammālvār.

4. M.E.R. 80 of 1910.

5. M.E.R. 291, 292 of 1930.

During the 13th c. A.D. the temple received many benefactions from the Bānadarāyās who were staunch Vaishnavites and regarded God Alagar as their tutelary deity. "*Alagar tiruvallam*" was one of their sign manuals.¹ In about the year 1464 A.D. Tirumāṅkajolamuttān Māvan Vānādayayan Urayāy Uḍayan Paṇḍit temple renovated from *uḍāra* to *uḍu* by Tiruvāṇ Somavāy.² In the *prākāra* of the temple is a polished black stone (patraṇa *śila*) with the inscription "*Bāṭagōḍa tirupallikāṇ!*" Since "*Bāṭagōḍa tirupallikāṇ*" was one of the titles assumed by the Bāṭagōḍa Śyāma bhāṭaṇ was probably also a gift by one of the Bānadarāyās.

The Vijayanagara victors and the Nayak rulers are credited with their loyal patronage to the temple. The Rāmānandakumār, a devotee of Kṛṣṇadeva Raya halted at Alagar for three days after completing the *Mahāmātā* festival at Kumbhāsam in 1517 A.D. Much of the temple structures in the Vijayanagara style. The Vijayanagara emblem consisting of the star and the *śakra* crescent and sword is found engraved in the upper part. *Aṅga Gopura* in which there is also a Vijayanagara inscription dated 1546 A.D.³

Tirumala Nayaka is said to have built the third *prākāra* of the temple, and erected the ivory beistead in the *paṭṭāra*. A ruined *mantapa* to the south of the Hiranvan form gate is called *Tirumala Nayaka Mantapa*. A much dilapidated structure near it is said to be a palace built by Tirumala.

Tirumohur

The temple at Tirumohur which is situated six miles north-east of Madurai is one of the 108 Vaishnava *sthālas*. Nammahar, Tirumangai Āhār and Manavāṭamāmm, have sung in praise of the deity here. The legendary origin of the shrine traces the story back to the churning of the ocean by the *Devas* and *Asuras* to obtain the divine *Amritham* or nectar. Lord Viṣṇu appeared in the form of a beautiful maiden, Mohini. When the nectar was churned out Viṣṇu as Mohini collected it. While the *Asuras* were admiring the beauty of Mohini, she distributed the *amritham* to the *Devas* who were waiting ready to receive it. *Mohana kshetra*, the

1. M.E.R. 25 of 1890.

2. M.E.R. 307 of 1930.

3. M.E.R. 93 of 1923.

puṇḍra name of Tirumohur, shows that the place was disturbed at this place. The goddess of the shrine is also aptly called *Melara-vallī Thāyār*. The deity here is called *Kalamēḡa Perumāl*.

The Tirumohur temple is not a large one, but it is an ancient shrine, containing vestiges of early structures, going back to the 14th century. The main shrine is enclosed by two walls which are unusually high and no doubt temple masonry intended to use it as a fort. There are many beautiful *mandapas* in the *prākāras*. A fine eastern one is the *Kambattadi* or *Moradu mandapa* which has two fine portrait statues of Peria Marudai and Citta Marudai. The noble citizens who helped Kulaśekhara and his brother of Pandya Kulaśekhara and who gave the gifts to the temple here. The *Kambattadi Mandapa* leads to the *Garudā mandapa* which contains beautiful carved pillars with figures of Rama with Sita, Lakṣmīnara, Rati and Marmarika. The *Aśvāḡa mandapa* contains some ornate pillars of the Vijayanagara style.

The *Kalamēḡappertamā* sanctum is almost a square structure. The base is a high *upana* with a *kumuda* and a many-panched *kanta* with *kopata* above which are the *adhishṭhāna* mouldings. The *adhishṭhāna* has *upana* and *padmadāra* with *kumudam*, *kantam* and *kopata*. The *vedī* forms the base from which the wall and its pilasters rise. The central *śāla* has a niche opening. The *pañcāra* projection has a *kumbapānāra* on either side of it and the corner projections have pilasters with pavilion *kudus*. The corbels are of the early Vijayanagara period. The cornice above has simulated timber work under it. Above this cornice is a *vyatātana* with many *mukaras* projecting at the cornice. The superstructure is in two storeys. The intervening spaces between the storeys have each a row of *vāḡi kudus* which seems rather peculiar. The *vimāna* is circular but has pronounced projecting pavilion *kudus* on four sides.

Architecturally the temple may be stated to be about the middle of the 16th c. A.D. There are, however, certain Pandya features inside the sanctum. Near the north-eastern corner is the *Kṣhīrābdi Sayanaḡa Sannadhi* with eight rows of pillars forming seven aisles. The shrine seems to be an ancient structure. The *Kṣhīrābdi Sayanaḡa Sannadhi* has square pilasters and twin *palogas* with a primitive *śāla* below. *Nāḡabandhas* are absent. The niches have short semi-pilasters with a *torana* above. The shrine probably may belong to the 13th or 14th c.

Another old bit of structure remaining is a disused shrine which has similar pilasters with twin *palagan*, with *prabhavali* and bevel and tenon corbels. The semi-pilasters of the niche are surmounted by a *tiruvast-i-gerana*.

There is a large Sudarsana image which is on a square slab more than four feet high¹. On the front Sri Sudarsana is carved with sixteen hands within a circle which has many *tantric* symbols. The surface of the square is carved with many figures in its various boundaries. The back of the Sudarsana is similarly carved, but in the centre is a figure of Yaga-Narasimha. The figures of Sudarsana and Narasimha are somewhat mutilated, but there can be no doubt that this is a unique piece of iconography which should find a more secure place than the ground on which it stands next to the wall of the inner *prabhavali*. The image resembles very nearly the large and more famous one in the Kallalagar temple at Alagarkeyl which is stated to be the only one of its kind in India. A new image has been installed in the temple in place of this mutilated idol.

There are a number of mediæval inscriptions on the walls of the temple. From them one learns that various gifts were made to the temple throughout the regime of the Pandyas. During the Sangam period in the early centuries of the Christian era, Tirumohur was the well-fortified stronghold of a Tamil chieftain and hero named Palayan. Many Sangam age poets have sung about the place. Ptolemy, the Alexandrian astronomer, writing about 140 A.D., mentions an inland place, Magour, in his Geographical Tables. Probably this is a reference to Tirumohur which was known as Mohur in the early ages.

Even as late as the 18th and 19th centuries, Tirumohur was noted for its strong fortifications. The town and the temple played a prominent part during the troublous times that followed the downfall of the Madurai Nayaka dynasty in the middle of the 18th century. Tirumohur was then variously known as Kovilkudi and Tirumbur.

1. M.E.R. 330 of 1918 from Tirumohur dated in the 741st year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, registers a gift of land to the shrine of Tiruvah-Alvan (i. e., Cakravarti-Vār) set up in the temple by a certain Gangēva. This might probably refer to the square Sudarsana described above, though the identity of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya among the several mediæval rulers of this name is not clear.

Tiruvādvār

Tiruvādvār which is 16 miles to the north-east of Madurai, is famous as the birth place of the Sangam poet Kapilar and the Saiva saint Manikkavacakar who figures in four *tiṭai* of the *Tirumala-paṇai purāṇa*. The presiding deity of the place is known as Vedapurisvara and Vedanāḍha. The Sanskrit *Śhatalopaniṣad* states that when Vishnu worshipped the *linga* here, the soul of "Vedham" emanated from the *linga*. Hence the deity here was named Vedanāḍha. The temple is beautifully situated in picturesque surroundings with the Alagar hills as back-drop. The temple which faces east has a *prabhā* which an entrance *gopura*, which is five-tiered. The stone base has a single storey with an *adhithana*. The superstructure has only an architectural rendering without stucco figures.

The *garbhagṛha* is a square structure with the usual *kūṭa*, *pañjarom*, and *śālu*. The *vimāna* is a cubical one. There is an *arḥamandapa* and *maha mandapa* in front of the *garbhagṛha*. South of these *mandapas* is a projecting *mandapa* known as the *ārkaḥ pitha* with bulbous capital octagonal pilars. The *mandapa* is surmounted by a heavy cornice which is a characteristic feature of this temple. The cornices which are of the *gymnata* type with timber work imitation on their under-surface are heavy blocks of granite from 10 to 14 feet in height. The thickness of these cornices varies from a thin section to a very heavy section. The carving and subsequent moulding on the entablature speak very highly about the skill and constructional methods of Indian masons. The photographs illustrating the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* and the *ārkaḥ pitha* show details of these cornices. The Nataraja Sannidhi has a beautiful *mandapa* approached by a *yati* balustrade with composite pilars of the Vijayanagara type with mutilated corbels of the same period. Between the Nataraja Sannidhi and the eastern wall is the Hundred Pillar *Mandapa* of which only a fractional part stands today in a ruined state. The rest of the *mandapa* is in complete ruin and the debris which lies about is covered by earth and shrubbery. In the south-west corner is a Kaṣvara shrine. Short bulbous capital octagonal-headed pilars with late 16th c. *pushpa-bodugu* corbels are in the front *mandapa* of the shrine. But the shrine itself appears to belong to an earlier period.

The Amman is in a separate shrine outside the wall to the south of the Svarnasacrum.

A group of early individual sculptures of the Saptamatikas is found standing against the west wall of the *prākāra*. Close to the north wall is another abandoned stone sculpture of Manikkavacak, which is repaired. A new figure of the saint has been installed in place of the damaged one.

Inscriptions are found in many parts of the temple.

The sanctum and the *mandapa* in the temple are very choice specimens of the Vijayanagara style as it prevailed in this region and as a pity many of these structures should be either completely ruined or seriously damaged. The temple is laid out on simple lines with the main shrine and the other structures forming a unified whole.

A spot is pointed out in the village as the birth place of the saint Manikkavacak and a shrine now commemorates it.

B. PALACES

1. TIRUMALA NAYAK'S PALACE

Tirumala Nayaka is credited with having constructed a number of buildings in Madurai and among these the most outstanding are the *Padu Mandapa* in front of the east *Gopura*, the large Vardiyur Teppakulam to the south-east of the city, and the palace named after him in the south-east corner within the fort. The palace grounds originally occupied an area of a square mile. But of the many buildings in this immense area some were pulled down and removed to Tiruchanopoly by Colkanatha for constructing his palace there. A number of other buildings suffered much damage during the wars in the middle of the 18th century. At the beginning of the 19th century the palace was in ruins and it was difficult to identify the buildings or reconstruct the layout of the original palace.

The only block that has survived today is the enclosed court known as the Svarga Vrasam and a few buildings adjoining it. The rest of the area has been laid out into streets and built up. However, a few remnants of the old palace buildings are dotted about among the street houses and lend an oddly incongruous note to their surroundings.

A detailed description of the layout of the main buildings of the palace is given in Taylor's "*Oriental Historical Manuscripts*". The English translation of the description in Tamil is somewhat mistaken, but one could get a fairly accurate picture from the description in Tamil. The map of the city of Madurai in 1757 given in Cambridge's *War in India*¹ shows the palace as it existed originally. Another map of about the same time drawn by the French general Marchand² gives almost a similar plan of the main parts of the palace buildings. As the Tamil description in Taylor's "*Oriental Historical Manuscripts*" tallies with these plans it is possible in a way to reconstruct the plan of the original palace.

In the following description of the palace from the Tamil version of Taylor's book the paragraphs relating to the various buildings have been numbered and as the same numbers are marked in the 1757 plan it may be seen how closely the description corresponds with the plan. It may thus be possible to visualise the various buildings of the palace and where they stood. To further elucidate the positions the old plan of the palace has been superimposed on a corresponding area of the plan of the city today. This would show how the precincts have been cut up into streets and where the old buildings would be most likely situated if they had survived today.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PALACE: The following notes are from the description in Tamil given in Taylor's "*Oriental Historical Manuscripts*".

1. The main entrance was to the east of Ten Pillars in the north-east corner of the palace.

2. 18 different musical instruments used to be played in the entrance porch.

3. Further to the east was the building where the palanquins etc. were kept.

4. To the west of Ten Pillars was the Ranga Vilasam court.

5. To the north-west of Ranga Vilasam was the Candrika (moonlight terrace) porch form surrounding which was an arcade with domes.

1. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II, pp. 156-159.

2. Reproduced in the *Madurai District Gazetteer*, 1906.

3. S. G. Hill's *Tamil Khan*.

6. On its northern side the guardian rajas (Poligars in charge of the bastions) stayed. Also various weapons and State paraphernalia were kept there.

7. To the west of Ranga Vilasam was the apartment for women.

8. To the south of Ranga Vilasam and in the south-west was the Rajarajesvarishrine facing east with a court in front.

9. There were arcades and open courts with ornamental works on the east of Ranga Vilasam.

10. In front of the Rajarajesvarishrine also was a water fountain and a garden with domed buildings.

11. South-west of this, running east to west was a *Nataka Sala* (hall) wherein Tirumala Nayaka used to spend the evenings watching dancing by nautch girls when he was seated in torch light darbar.

12. To the west of this hall was a 'big dome' with stone pillars and a platform below.

13. To the south of this was Svarga Vilasam.

14. To the west of the enclosed court of Svarga Vilasam was a big dome with stone pillars and a platform.

15. On the platform during the *Nataratri* celebrations Tirumala Nayaka used to sit in darbar on a gem-studded throne under an ivory canopy.

16. To the north, south and west of this big dome were three other domes with stone pillars under them.

17. On both sides of the central open court were two arcades with rectangular vaults ornamented with equestrian stucco figures.

18. In the north-east corner of this opposite to the entrance was the staircase leading to the terrace. Tirumala Nayaka with his queens used to watch the temple processions from the terrace. There was an arcade and two towers with gilt *stupas* at each end of the terrace. In the same way the Ranga Vilasam, the Devi Shrine and the Hall had gilt *stupas*.

19. To the west of Svarga Vilasam were two beautiful buildings with stone arcades where the queen and other ladies of the harem used to listen to musical entertainments.

20. West of this annexe was the armoury. North of the armoury was the *Vasanta Vapi*, an ornamental tank surrounded by an arcade with dome.

21. To the north of this was the palace where the ruler witnessed wrestling bouts, ram fights and other sports.

22. West of this was the palace with domes and arcades where the king's relations used to reside.

23. Enclosing all these buildings was a high wall which ran from the south-east to the north-east upto the balcony tower near the entrance.

24. Outside this wall in the south-west was a pleasure garden where there were platforms with arcades and domes and swimming baths where the king spent the time with his ladies.

25. Tirumala Nayaka's younger brother, Mutiala Nayaka lived with his family in Ranga Vias.

The above description would show that the palace was a vast collection of buildings with domes and turrets, of arcades and open courts with gardens and ornamental tanks. It is difficult to believe that Tirumala Nayaka could have constructed all this huge pile of buildings within his own term of sovereignty. It is more likely that Tirumala Nayaka restored, repaired, or added to existing buildings in addition to many new buildings which he himself erected. Most of these older buildings have now disappeared.

The one building that survives today and that is attributed to Tirumala Nayaka is the Svarga Viasam or Audience Hall. This huge pavilion which measures 235 feet long and 105 feet wide consists of the Audience Hall at the western end, an open court in front of it and surrounding the open court an arcade and pilared cloisters, in the north, south and east sides. The pillars of the arcade rise to 40 feet from the ground level, while the three rows of pillars in the cloister rise from a platform eight feet high from the floor. The pillars are 16 feet to the top of the capital. The roof of the cloisters is terraced but in the centre the roof rises to a vaulted dome 70 feet high. The audience hall or Svarga Viasam as it is known has five rows of pillars which rise to the same height as those of the cloisters. Immediately in front of the arcade before the Svarga Viasam is a pilared *mandapa* known as the *Kalyana Mandapa*. The beautiful stuccoed arches of this *mandapa* rest on four graceful composite pillars. In the centre of the Svarga Viasam is a big dome measuring 60 feet supported by twelve columns forming a square 64 feet across. These columns have heavy foliated arches and the square is converted

into an octagon by four other arches thrown across the corners on the square. An octagonal cloister rises from here and 45 feet above the ground the octagonal cloister is charged by a similar device into a sixteen-sided polygon which is converted into a circle above the cornice from where the massive dome arises. Two smaller domes are to the north and south of it. Below the central dome was a black polished stone platform on which was an ivory canopy. Below this canopy sat Tirumala Nayaka in darbar on a bejewelled throne during the Disara darbars.

At the north-west corner of Svarga Vilasam is a hall measuring 125 feet long by 69 feet wide and 70 feet in height. This semi-circumferenced building has a narrow gallery running round the interior. Painted arches connect the pilasters and support the roof. According to tradition Tirumala Nayaka used to sit in this hall in the afternoon for darbar receiving the homage of his subjects or watching entertainments and dance performances. Adjoining the Entertainment Hall on the east is a large dome building which must once have formed part of a larger structure. Its facade is now lost and its original design is not known. It is probably the one-pilared platform referred to in paragraph 12 of the Tamil description of the palace given above.

Behind the dome chamber (the Svarga Vilasam) on the western side are other rooms with tall slender black polished stone pillars and an octagonal conical vault. The photograph shows the mode of construction. Though this is now described as the Raja room, it was probably the building referred to in the Tamil description (paragraph 19) where the queen and her ladies used to listen to music.

The old entrance to the Audience Hall was on the west and the present entrance through the cloisters on the east was made about the end of the last century. Most of the stone and chunnam passing seen today were recently made during extensive repairs to the buildings but they follow very closely the original designs as they were before they were damaged.

The Nalabakiana referred to in paragraph 1 of the Tamil description was in a much damaged state and was considered to be beyond repair. The site is now occupied by a primary school.

Walking through the bylanes and streets which now fill what was once the palace ground, one comes across many remains of the palace tucked among modern houses. The photograph taken from the base of a house in Panaulkaran Street looking towards the temple shows a doorway window on the left. This is part of a wall which has probably formed a part of the Rajarajeswari temple mentioned in paragraph 8 of the Tamil description. Further to the west in N. Annam's Kitchen Chettiar lane is a building with a large plan in figures. This evidently formed a part of the *Pasanta Vapi* mentioned in paragraph 20 of the Tamil description. The doorway shows how the present floor level is almost close to the capital of the pilasters. The original floor must have been a lower level leading to the swimming pool in the centre. The photographs of the interior of the dome and the walls show clearly that the old building dome was erected over a quadrangular structure. A curious remnant of the old palace is the Ten Palars which stand in a narrow lane. It is not known for what purpose these 50-foot tall pilars were erected, though the popular story is that they were for elephant stables. They might have been placed on a grand entrance way and must have been abandoned by a flood of high water which ran from the south-east to the west and thence to the north from where it continued to the east up to the entrance to the fortification corner. After the downfall of the Madurai rulers when the palace was abandoned and had fallen into ruins the walls were crowded with tumbrils and it is stated that the walls were pulled down early in the 19th century to admit fresh air to the congested locality. The present Singaratappa Street marks the site of the pleasure garden which was to the south-west, enclosed the palace wall.

The architecture of the palace has evoked some interesting remarks from European critics. "The style of architecture adapted to fashion this palace", says Captain Lyon in the descriptive notes in his paragraph 31, "is an admixture of Saracenic forms with Hindu details which the native princes of India very generally adapted in the 17th century in their secular buildings. Generally may be said to be deficient in that harmonious completeness which characterises the true Muhammadan buildings of Agra and Delhi and to want the elaborate finish of the Hindu religious buildings but the combination is very irregularly picturesque and has often given rise to forms of

great beauty..... Unfortunately the style was never carried to its legitimate issue; it was invented only on the eve of the decline of native supremacy and power and before it had lasted a century and a half, it fell before the debasing influence of the European style of architecture". James Fergusson writing about the Durbar hall thinks that "it possesses all the structural propriety of a Gothic building. It is evident that if the Hindus had persevered a little longer in this direction they might have accomplished something that would have surpassed the works of their masters in this form of art".

E. B. Havell, while agreeing with Fergusson about the Gothic character of the building, thinks that "misunderstood the origin of the great Hindu foliated arches and made the usual mistake of calling them Saracenic". Like other writers Havell also remarks "this great palace was a beginning of a new style fusing into one artistic entity the individual characteristics of the three different cults now prevailing in India—Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian. The arches are Hindu in form but Muhammadan in application, the 'classical' columns which support them are Christian by adoption and the whole building is thoroughly European in structural character". But, according to Percy Brown, the palace at Madurai "affected a work of incredible magnitude, denotes an architectural retrogression". Secular architectures up to this time like the Lotus Mahal in Hampi or the Chandragiri Palace showed a successful synthesis of the two influences, Dravidian and Islamic by the South Indian craftsman; but in Tirumala Nayaka's Palace a third influence the European, becomes apparent and according to Percy Brown "the builders were competent to bring about a pleasing result when dealing with the two styles of the country..... are unable to assimilate and successfully combine in their composition a third style, and that an occidental one".

2 MANGAMMAL'S PALACE

To the north-east of the Temple are a block of buildings known as Mangammal's palace. These are now occupied by a municipal market and other offices. The only remains of the palace that are seen today are certain remnants amidst these modern buildings

1 James Fergusson: *Indian and Eastern Architecture* 1910, p. 412.

2 E. B. Havell: *Indian Architecture*, 1913, p. 210.

3 Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)* 2nd Edn., p. 131

The characteristic features of these old structures are polished black stone pillars and foliated arches with vaulted or circular domes. The surviving buildings are not architecturally of the same great merit as Tirumala Nayaka's palace. The only room of some considerable dimension is the large hall with eight polished black stone pillars now used by a P.W.D. Office. A larger hall with masonry pillars and heavy arches similar to those in the Tamkam is adjacent to the north-east corner of the Central Market. Close to it is an open area with an arched wall which is now pointed out as the remains of Mangamma's bathing chamber.

3. THE TAMKAM

The Tamkam is about 12 miles to the north-east of the present Madurai City, across the river Vaigai. Who built it or how it originated are not definitely known, both Tirumala Nayaka and Mangamma being equally credited as the builders of it. Tamkamu is identified by some with Fort Dehanee which was erected during the siege of Madurai by Major Campbell in 1764. "It is the only outpost erected during the siege which can be identified with any approach to confidence. Portions of it are said to be included in what is now known as the Tamakam. It was a 1-story building, an old pigoda being utilised in its construction and was used as a signal station for communicating rapidly with all the other outposts."¹ All accounts describing the building state that it was constructed on the top of a square mound of earth about 15 feet high, with a stone facing on the outside. The pillars which are square support triangular arches above which is a circular dome with a lotus pattern similar to those of Tirumala Nayaka's palace. Covering the dome a terrace has been put up and over this a sixteen-sided room with modern flat roof has been built. From the terrace at this level one could command a view of a wide expanse of the country for miles around. Originally this building seems to have been open on all sides but as it was surrounded by a colonnade of arched pillars the place was stated to be remarkably cool. The enclosing walls today are modern constructions.

The purpose for which the building was erected is as uncertain as its origin. The popular version is that it was used by the rulers to witness fights between wild animals or other sporting events.

1. S.C. Hill; *Tamir Tamam*, p. 172.

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